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**The Revd Canon Trevor Park B.A., S.Th.**

**Theological Education and Ministerial Training  
for the Ordained Ministry of the Church of England 1800 - 1850**

**Thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy**

**Religious Studies: 19th Century Church History**

**Submitted 7 August 1990**



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## SYNOPSIS

There were no establishments of higher education in England and Wales in 1800 where an Anglican ordinand could receive a professional training to prepare him for his future parochial ministry. Most men who took Holy Orders in the Church of England had no more theological education than any other graduate of the two English universities. If the candidate had been educated at Oxford, his degree was largely in classical studies, if at Cambridge in mathematics.

By 1850 the situation had changed radically. In response to mounting criticism there had been some modest reforms in the two ancient universities, most notably the establishment at Oxford in 1842 of two new regius professorships in Pastoral Theology and Ecclesiastical History, and at Cambridge the introduction of the Voluntary Theological Examination in 1843. More importantly nine new institutions of higher education which catered for Anglican ordinands had been founded. These were:

1817	St Bees Clerical Institution
1825	C.M.S. Institution, Islington
1827	St David's College, Lampeter
1831	King's College, London
1833	Durham University
1839	Chichester Diocesan Theological College
1840	Wells Diocesan Theological College
1847	St Aidan's College, Birkenhead
1848	St Augustine's Missionary College, Canterbury

In addition, the Theological Department of the Queen's College, Birmingham existed in part - it had premises and staff but no students! Two more institutions were under consideration at Cuddesdon (Oxford) and at Lichfield.

This study explores why and how this transformation took place in the provision of theological education and ministerial training for the ordained ministry of the Church of England between 1800 - 1850. More particularly it documents who the men were who had the vision and entrepreneurial skills to found new colleges and universities, what the social, political and ecclesiastical factors were which motivated them to undertake this great work, and what influenced the form and ethos of these new institutions. In so doing, it is a record of part of the Church of England's contribution to higher education during that half century.



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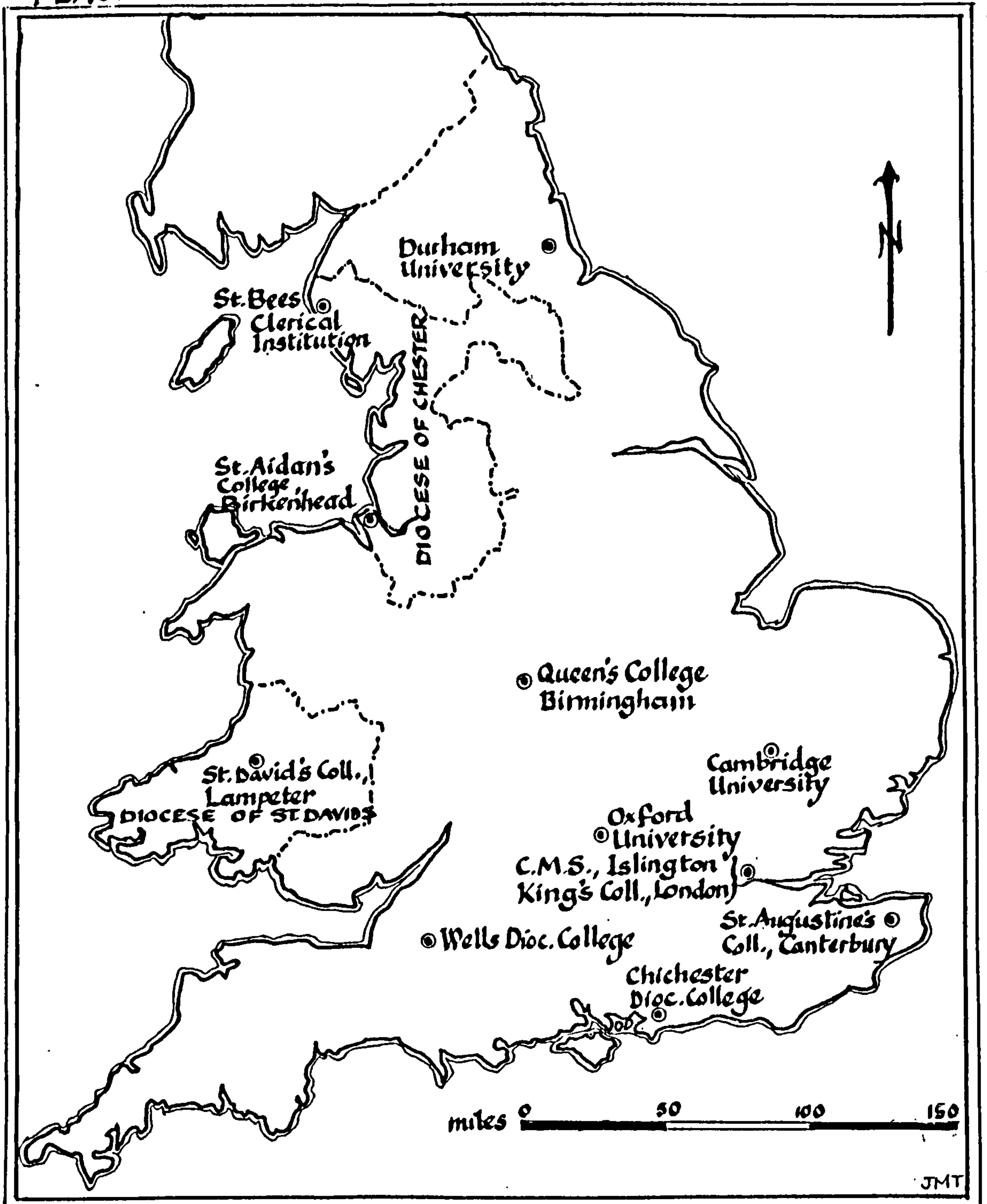
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# PLACES OF ANGLICAN THEOLOGICAL LEARNING 1800-1850



- 1817 St Bees Clerical Institution
- 1825 C. M. S. Institution, Islington
- 1827 St David's College, Lampeter
- 1831 King's College, London
- 1833 Durham University
- 1839 Chichester Diocesan Theological College
- 1840 Wells Diocesan Theological College
- 1847 St Aidan's College, Birkenhead
- 1848 St Augustine's Missionary College, Canterbury
- 1850 The Queen's College Theological Department, Birmingham



## INTRODUCTION

'We have no such thing as strictly Clerical Education. That which goes under the name is simply the education, of the class of society out of which the Clergy come.' The writer was a well-informed critic of the university scene in 1846, commenting at a time when some modest reforms had already taken place and the situation was improved on that at the start of the century.

In 1800 the colleges of Oxford and Cambridge were *de facto* the theological colleges of the Church of England. There was no further professional education available beyond the B.A. degree, though conscientious men would either read privately or with a clergyman prior to their Bishop's examination of them as candidates for Holy Orders. Not that all bishops did! Critics of the existing system of education in the two universities who believed more should be done for ordinands were answered - Our task is to train a young man's mind, to exercise his intellect, to offer him a liberal education, not to prepare him for a particular profession. When the critic then argued the case for post-graduate theological colleges, such as Chichester and Wells, or suggested a more theologically-weighted curriculum at the university, he was told the universities already provided a sufficient education! The dis-ease with the care and education of those many undergraduates who would later be ordained was just one aspect of the dissatisfaction with the universities which grew during the early nineteenth century and led to the royal commissions appointed in 1850 to investigate their state; this we shall explore in the opening chapters.

Another criticism was of their social exclusiveness and the expensive



life-style which made it extremely difficult for an able but poor man to study there and so be ordained. There were, however, dioceses where non-graduate clergy had to fill the many benefices which were so poorly endowed that no graduate would go to them. Chester which stretched from the Wirral to West Cumberland and St David's which covered the whole of South Wales were two such dioceses. These men, denominated "Literates", also needed an education beyond the level provided by their local grammar schools; St Bees Clerical Institution and St David's College, Lampeter were two solutions.

Some parents who intended their sons to be ordained were also concerned at the lack of adequate moral supervision in the universities and the temptations facing a young man there to lead a dissolute life. 'There is something obviously unsuitable in exposing the intended Priesthood of the Church to the full power of uncontrolled tastes and amusements, during the very process of preparation, and making an interval of four or five years of promiscuous liberty and temptation, the immediately contiguous period to actual entrance on the holy office.'<sup>2</sup> These critics and the founders of the new colleges did not agree on what was the ideal setting for an ordinand's priestly formation and pastoral training. Some preferred a place of quiet retreat - as did Bishop Burgess, others argued for an urban context where a man could experience the complexities of ministering to the urban masses. St Aidan's, Birkenhead, in particular, specialized in the latter, and it was intended that the Queen's College, Birmingham should too.

A further criticism levelled at Oxbridge was their religious exclusiveness. They were effectively Anglican universities and remained



so throughout the period under review despite the attempts of political reformers to change this. This was an important contributory factor in the founding of University College, London, and then as a critical reaction to that institution the founding of King's College. Political considerations in the form of fear of what the Whig and Radical reformers might do was a direct cause of the founding of Durham University, which because it was funded with Church money became another distinctly Anglican educational establishment.

The Church authorities were generally concerned to ensure that the new colleges were not extreme in their churchmanship and theology, and as at CMS Islington where the candidates were definitely Evangelical, difficulty was experienced in finding a bishop to ordain them. Individual benefactors and theological teachers did, however, try to influence the students and the ethos of the college in a particular direction - Charles Marriott at Chichester and Beresford Hope's influence on St Augustine's Canterbury illustrate this. The churchmanship of the colleges did not become a contentious public issue until the 1850s, notably at Cuddesdon and in connection with the proposals for a college at Lichfield. Whilst the Heads of Houses at Oxbridge claimed there was greater breadth of theological sympathies in the universities than in any diocesan institution, the fact is that individual colleges there were influenced significantly by the theological opinions and churchmanship of the Head and the tutors he appointed. They were not free of party bias either.

Reaction to aspects of Oxbridge was a major factor in the founding of the new colleges but it was not the only nor necessarily the most important one except at Chichester and Wells. As this study will



demonstrate they had no single, common origin. Each of the ten additional institutions was the product of a distinct set of circumstances and the creation of a particular group of men. If there is a characteristic common to most of them, it is that they were planted with definite diocesan or regional roots but their history shows how very quickly they outgrew their diocesan context and purpose.

This aspect of the development of theological education for the ordained ministry of the Church of England has not previously been given serious attention by historians of the period. F.W.B. Bullock's A History of Training for the Church of England 1800-1874 (St Leonard's on Sea 1955) provides a simple, chronological narrative of events and a useful guide to the relevant 19th century literature. Subsequent major studies of the clergy during this period have concentrated on them as a professional body. Brian Heeney's A different Kind of Gentleman, Parish Clergy as Professional Men in early and mid-Victorian England (Connecticut 1976) charts the shift away from the clergy being a 'status profession' to becoming an 'occupational' one, the evidence for which he drew from pastoral handbooks published mostly after 1850. This was followed by Anthony Russell's The Clerical Profession (London 1980) which the author describes as 'an historico-sociological account of the development of the clergyman's role set alongside the extensive theological literature on the nature of priesthood.' More recently Alan Haig's The Victorian Clergy (London 1984) has examined how the clergy fitted into 'an inherited patronage-ridden structure, their inadequate educational provision, the diverse and arbitrary system of patronage, and the equally arbitrary distribution of endowment income.' Peter Virgin's The Church in an Age of Negligence, Ecclesiastical Structure



and Problems of Church Reform 1700-1840 (Cambridge 1989), meanwhile, presents a carefully documented assessment of ecclesiastical and clerical neglect in the period prior to the founding of the new universities and Anglican theological colleges. It thus highlights the context which made their foundation necessary, though this particular theme is not then dealt with directly in any detail.

The present thesis is limited to a shorter period, a half century possessing a certain natural unity bounded as it was, on the one hand by the examination reforms in 1800 at Oxford and the earliest diocesan attempts to improve Anglican ministerial training and, on the other hand by the establishment of two key royal commissions in 1850. The periodisation of the study is thus logical and coherent. The method has been to study each institution separately as each came into being for distinctively different reasons - an approach not adopted by earlier scholars. It is in the uncovering of the intensely local and individual character of the developments in Anglican ministerial training and theological education in this period that the thesis makes its most original and significant contribution to our knowledge.

The local and individual character of the various institutions notwithstanding, consideration of the broader context in which these educational developments took place enables us to identify a number of factors which together facilitated and provided a situation favourable to the emergence of the local initiatives.

First we should note the growth in the population and the building of new churches. In 1800 the population of England and Wales was about 12,000,000 - by the mid-century it had risen to 18,000,000. Thanks to two major donations by the Government - £1,000,000 in 1818 and £500,000



in 1824 - and to many private benefactions amounting to much more, over 2,500 new churches and chapels were built in those fifty years. Estimates of the number of new clergy needed to minister in them varied. E.C. Woollicombe, Fellow and Tutor of Balliol College Oxford, estimated in 1848 that 2,000 new churches had been built in the previous twenty years and argued that the universities and the newly founded colleges were not able to meet the 'gigantic demand' for extra clergy; further provision for recruitment and training was needed.<sup>3</sup> Two years previously Archdeacon Manning had said 'not less than 4,000 - probably 6,000 additional clergy are needed to provide pastoral care for our people.'<sup>4</sup> Also writing in 1846 Clericus claimed 'If Lancashire and West Riding of Yorkshire were staffed at the level of rural areas an additional 2,000 clergy would be needed.'<sup>5</sup> In his view there were only two options open to the Church, either of not having clergy enough or of admitting 'a more cheaply maintained class.'

Second, the Evangelical revival and later the influence of the Tractarian movement together placed a new emphasis on the divine vocation of an ordained minister and consequently on the need for him to have a life-style and professional commitment appropriate to his calling. The ideal clergyman came to be seen as a man of prayer, caring and diligent as a pastor and teacher who offered his parishioners a personal example of holy living - one who approximated in effect to the ideal set out in the Ordinal of the Book of Common Prayer. Philip Freeman, the third Principal of Chichester, wrote in 1851 in A Plea for the Education of the Clergy of the need for their 'sanctification for their work... The thing needed, then, is a systematic training, theoretical and practical, - formation, ethical and theological...'<sup>6</sup>



The new colleges' ability to give it was recognised by W.C. Lake, Fellow and Tutor at Balliol, in his evidence given to the Oxford Commission about why graduates preferred to spend a year at Wells or Chichester rather than staying on at the university - 'It is the moral rather than the intellectual advantages of the place which such persons seek - the comparative quiet, regularity and discipline, which are sure to be found in smaller schools of theological study, rather than in the stir of a large university.'<sup>7</sup> The emphasis on discipline is also to be seen in the strict house rules imposed on ordinands in the new foundations. (See Vol 2 for examples of this.)

A third and more negative influence came from the pages of the Radical press with their mounting volume of anti-clerical criticism. Public opinion after 1815 became too strong for the clergy to go on ignoring it. Allied to this was the dissemination of Bentham's utilitarianism which had gained hold on the minds of many in the early 19th century. Clergy were under pressure to demonstrate that they were 'useful'. When Bishop Jenkinson, the Dean of Durham, wrote to his Chapter on 31 August 1831 urging support for the plan for a university attached to the cathedral, this was his very argument - 'I am deeply impressed with the necessity of adopting some measure which shall extend the utility of our Collegiate Body, and give the public an interest in its preservation.'<sup>8</sup> He wrote similarly to them later - 'It seems to be very desirable, with the view of obviating an objection frequently urged against Collegiate Bodies - that the members of them are useless functionaries - to bring at least three Prebendaries out of twelve into Academic Service, and thus render them useful and efficient officers.'<sup>9</sup>



Fourth, the proliferation of pastoral handbooks indicates that the parochial clergy became concerned to be less amateurish in carrying out their ministry. This was arguably a consequence of the previous two factors but was also part of a wider movement for professional reform seen at this time among members of the other two ancient doctoral bodies of medicine and the law. Bishop Blomfield commented on the need for 'a more systematic and laborious preparation for the ministry' in 1830 and noted that 'with the universally rising qualifications of every other profession' clerical accomplishments should be raised too.<sup>10</sup> The Society of Apothecaries was given power by Act of Parliament in 1815 to determine the educational requirements for entry into the profession of general practitioner and thereby to suppress unqualified practice. The creation of the Law Society in 1825 and the introduction of qualifying examinations for solicitors in 1836 served the same purpose. The knowledge required to pass the examinations for law and medical degrees at the newly founded University of London was in sharp contrast to the minimal level required at Oxbridge. Invidious comparisons were often made between Anglican clergy on the one hand and lawyers and physicians on the other; it was claimed the latter had a professional training after the foundation of a liberal education whereas nothing further was required of the former. The new theological colleges allowed some clergy, at least, to refute this criticism.

A fifth factor was the example of the Dissenting Academies which had come into being after 1662. These offered an alternative and more broadly based curriculum of university standard, initially intended for Nonconformist ordinands but in fact enjoyed by many dissenters who went into other professions. In addition to new academies founded during



this period (see page 113), old ones took on a new lease of life - such as the famous Warrington Academy closed in 1783, temporarily resurrected at Manchester, and then re-opened in 1803 at York for whose 12 divinity students and 10 lay students new buildings were provided in 1811. There was a similar growth in educational provision for Roman Catholic seminarians. Their existence and success was noted by some of the bishops - William Otter in his Charge of 1838 at Chichester, arguing the case for better-educated clergy, pointed to 'the increasing labour and expense now bestowed upon the education of Dissenting Ministers, and especially to the ceaseless zeal and energies and the inexhaustible resources of the Roman Catholic priesthood in their endeavours for conversion.''' Anglican clergy were being put on their metal.

We may also note one further pressure which could have been exerted much more widely and effectively by all the bishops than it was, namely their examination of candidates for ordination. All the contemporary anecdotal evidence available in clerical memoirs and biographies indicates that an Oxbridge graduate could expect to be subjected to only a fairly perfunctory examination by a bishop or by his chaplain. There were a very few exceptions and these are noted later. J.C. Philpot, Fellow of Worcester College Oxford, wrote dismissively in 1835 of candidates for ordination being 'examined by the Bishop's Chaplain in a few commonplace topics of divinity.'<sup>12</sup> Many candidates, nonetheless, did spend some short time reading privately or with an experienced clergyman in the hope of learning something about their future life's work. Henry Manning exemplifies the serious-minded Evangelical ordinand in this extract from a letter to his brother in



law written in 1832:

From what I have seen of my own attainments in theology, although I might satisfy the Bishop of London's chaplain, I should by no means satisfy myself by June next. I do not think that I can possibly enter upon a profession of such responsibility without a much more mature preparation. I did not know till I came hither how greatly deficient I am, and I shall feel myself highly culpable were I to press forward without more solid acquirements and deliberate study.<sup>13</sup>

Having won a fellowship at Merton, Manning spent nine months at Oxford reading theology prior to his being ordained Deacon by Bishop Bagot in December 1832. Even where, exceptionally, a bishop's chaplain set candidates a number of papers, as did Charles Dodson examining chaplain to the first Bishop of Ripon, all that was tested was the memory.<sup>14</sup> Neither college lecturers nor examining chaplains encouraged original thinking!. For the majority of candidates, what really counted was that they were graduates and had a Title to be ordained to. Non-graduates, however, might expect a stiffer test such as that given to Edward Bickersteth by the Bishop of Norwich (see page 151).

Finally, the university system as it existed at Oxford and Cambridge between 1800-1850 contributed one last and positive ingredient to the potent mix which resulted in ten new Anglican institutions of higher education being founded during those years. The bond between the universities and the Established Church was still strong during this period as evidenced by, for example, the sturdy defence of Anglican exclusiveness in them in the 1830s and the establishment of new theological professorships and examinations in the 1840s. Significant changes in that special relationship between Oxbridge and the Established Church came later. In the period with which we are concerned the relationship



still fostered a common culture between those who led in Church and State. A common education in the classics, philosophy, mathematics and the rudiments of the Christian religion meant a common language and a common stock of ideas for all graduates. It made it easier for future parsons to talk to future squires and fellow magistrates, future bishops to talk to future MPs and peers. And when funds were needed to build new churches or finance new educational enterprises, relationships and friendships and attitudes were already formed which enabled clerical entrepreneurs to attract the essential financial support from wealthy laymen and from other clergy.

The story of some of these colleges has been told before but in none of them has such close attention been paid to exploring why and how they came into being which is the main thrust of this study. It investigates who the men were who had the vision and entrepreneurial skills to found new colleges and universities and what were the social, political and ecclesiastical factors which motivated them. No formal comparison has been attempted of the curriculum pursued in them though some account of this is given in the thesis supplemented by detailed examples of primary source material in the Appendices of Volume 2 which are illustrative of life in the colleges. I have also given some indication of what eventually made these institutions stable and effective and enabled them to survive - personal factors such as episcopal support and the appointment of the right staff, and institutional factors such as their constitutional and financial basis.

John Henry Newman reckoned that a man's life lay in his letters and so the only authentic biographies were collections of letters with a minimum of explanatory comment. With this dictum in mind, I have tried



to tell the story of each institution in the actual words of the men most closely associated with its foundation and subsequent life. This has accordingly meant quoting extensively and frequently from their writings to illustrate the narrative and analysis. It is after all a part of their life story - and deserves to be told in their own words, as far as is consistent with a factual and critical account of events.

#### NOTES

- 1 Clericus            A Letter on Two Present Needs of the Church, viz Increase and Education of the Clergy. p.54
- 2 ibid                p.60
- 3 E.C. Woolcombe    University Extension and the Poor Scholar Question. p.29f
- 4 H.E. Manning      Charge to the Clergy of the Archdeaconry of Chichester 1846, p.41
- 5 Clericus            op cit p.19f
- 6 P. Freeman        A Plea for the Education of the Clergy. p.9
- 7 Oxford University Commission Report 1852 p.169
- 8 Thorp MSS          1,34 Dean to Durrell, Prosser + Thorp 31,8,1831
- 9 ibid                1,53 Dean to Chapter 23,9,1831
- 10 C.J. Blomfield    Charge to the Clergy of the Diocese of London 1830, p.34
- 11 W. Otter           Charge to the Clergy of the Diocese of Chichester 1838, p.38
- 12 J.C. Philpot      A Letter to the Provost of Worcester College. p.15
- 13 E.C. Purcell      Life of Cardinal Manning. p.89
- 14 A.M.G. Stephenson G.O.E. in 1837 in Church Quarterly Review Vol 163 1962



## PREFACE TO THE UNIVERSITIES

'We educate for only one profession,' wrote the poet Robert Southey in 1807 about the University of Cambridge; and the primary purpose of Oxford he saw similarly as providing a 'school for divinity, and for nothing else,' and for the 'breeding of godly and learned divines'.<sup>1</sup> When he wrote this, the two universities were regarded as the peculiar preserves of members of the Church of England. Rightly so for Oxford required undergraduates at their matriculation to subscribe to the Thirty Nine Articles of Religion, and Cambridge required the same before graduation. The colleges were thoroughly Anglican in their ethos which included compulsory attendance by the students at chapel services. The great majority of those holding teaching posts, and especially so at Oxford, were celibate clergymen in the Established Church.<sup>2</sup> Thirty two percent of all the students admitted to Cambridge in the period 1800 - 1850 were sons of clergy<sup>3</sup> and many more in both universities intended to be ordained.

James Yates, a Unitarian minister, arguing the case in 1827 for more universities and that 'some portion of the same honours and advantages ought certainly to be accessible to the rest of the nation' nonetheless acknowledged 'that the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge ought for ever to be appropriated, as they now are, to the sole use and benefit of the Church of England. The principal object pursued in them is the education of clergymen to officiate in that church.'<sup>4</sup> Even after the foundation of the new places of higher education, about eight out of every ten clergymen in the Church of England had been educated at either Oxford or Cambridge, with the latter providing the most.<sup>5</sup>

	Total Number of Deacons	Oxford	Camb	Dublin	Durham	Other Colleges and Literates
1834-43	5,350	2,076	2,307	219	183	565
1844-53	6,656	2,188	2,596	537	290	1,045

Given their definite Anglican and clerical character, one might have expected the colleges to offer a thorough theological education, if not a professional training for the ordained ministry, but such was not the case. The Christian Advocate in the University of Cambridge in 1809, William Cockburn, lamented 'to our supposed candidates for holy orders, whose education is nearly finished, no encouragement has yet been given to acquire, or to endeavour to acquire, any information whatever connected with ecclesiastical matters.'<sup>6</sup> Competence in Latin and Greek and proficiency in Mathematics were what were encouraged. The defenders of this curriculum when attacked for its inutility argued that the purpose of the university was to provide a Liberal Education, i.e. the cultivation of the intellect as an end in itself. But given the religious exclusiveness of the universities and the clerical dominance in them, it is not surprising that something different and more professional was expected of them by many. In the judgement of a later historian, Canon Charles Smyth, the two universities at this time 'virtually monopolised, while they failed conspicuously to discharge, the functions of theological seminaries in which the future clergy of the Church of England received their training for the sacred ministry.'<sup>7</sup>

This failure was not entirely the fault of the universities. Dr Corrie, the Norrisian Professor at Cambridge, noted in his diary in 1841 a conversation he had had with the Bishop of London regarding a plan for a theological examination in the university. 'I told him that any plan would be useless unless the Bishops fixed on some one general system of



examination; for as it was, one Bishop examined in one set of books, another in another.'<sup>2</sup> Furthermore, the care and attention given to examining candidates for Holy Orders by individual bishops and their chaplains varied enormously. If men entered the ministry ill-prepared, it was not entirely the fault of the universities.

#### NOTES

- 1 R. Southey Letters from England by Don Manuel Alvarez Espriella, Vol 2 pp.298 +21
- 2 V.H.H. Green Religion at Oxford and Cambridge, p.229
- 3 S. Rothblatt The Revolution of the Dons, p.87
- 4 J. Yates Thoughts on the Advancement of Academical Education, p.8
- 5 Convocation of Canterbury Report 1876 Deficiencies of Spiritual Ministration, App B p.29
- 6 W. Cockburn Strictures on Clerical Education in the University of Cambridge, p.9
- 7 C.H. Smyth Simeon and Church Order, p.98
- 8 M. Holroyd ed Memorials of the Life of G.E. Corrie D.D. p.161

## CAMBRIDGE

One of the early would-be reformers was the Rev. Herbert Marsh, who in 1792 when he was a Fellow of St John's College, published An Essay on the Usefulness and Necessity of Theological Learning to those designed for Holy Orders. In it he complained:

But though the greatest number of students in the two universities is designed for orders, the study of divinity is regarded as a secondary consideration; it has till lately been thought sufficient to apply for a few months after the bachelor's degree without direction and without assistance, nor has it been deemed an impropriety in our mode of education that those should be appointed to instruct others, who have never been instructed themselves. The study of divinity deserves to be scientifically treated as much as any branch of human knowledge; the requisites for a clergyman, who would execute with propriety the duties of his station, are more numerous and more difficult to be acquired than is usually imagined; and if we neglect to lay a proper foundation during those years, in which it is, or ought to be our business to acquire those qualifications in particular, which respect our future calling, a want of ability or inclination in a later period of life must expose us to inconveniences, which we have neither courage to overcome, nor even sagacity to perceive. '

In 1807 the writer was given his chance to improve things when he was made Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity, and he did this in a novel way by giving a course of public lectures in English and not in Latin. So unusual was this that the Divinity School could not hold the number of students wishing to attend and the lectures were delivered in Great St Mary's church. They were published in 1809 as A Course of Lectures containing a Description and systematic Arrangement of the several Branches of Divinity. Unfortunately Dr Marsh was not constant in well-



doing, lecturing only intermittently and not at all after he became Bishop of Peterborough in 1819 though he retained his professorship (worth £1,000 p.a.) until his death twenty years later.

The Quarterly Review published a critique of his lectures in February 1810 and commented on the need for ministerial training prior to ordination:

We know several prelates have lamented that those who apply for ordination come less prepared by a course of regular study than could be wished. We know also it has been objected to our universities, that they do not sufficiently encourage attention to theology in those who are destined for the church. To this it has been answered, that academical study is rather directed towards the improvement of the mental faculties, and the acquirement of general learning, preparatory to the peculiar studies of the profession, than towards the peculiar learning which belongs to the profession itself. This answer scarcely appears sufficient, when we consider how entirely the universities are nurseries for the sacred profession, and how closely the entrance into it follows the termination of academical studies. Either the course of these studies should embrace more of theology, or the time of entering into orders should allow a longer intervening period...In law and physic, a certain period of professional study invariably precedes the exercise of the profession. Nor can it be thought unreasonable, that some time and attention should be regularly directed to theology, before admission to the exercise of clerical functions.<sup>2</sup>

The predominant study for all undergraduates, with the exception of King's men who did not have to be examined before graduation, was mathematics. Many of them began their studies almost ignorant of the subject as not many schools taught it.<sup>3</sup> 'It would scarcely be believed,' wrote George Pryme who came up to Trinity as a Freshman in 1799, 'how very little knowledge was required for a mere degree when I first knew Cambridge. Two books of Euclid geometry, simple and quadratic

equations, and the early parts of Paley's Moral Philosophy were deemed sufficient.<sup>4</sup>

The final examinations for honours men soon became more testing:

In 1808 it was extended from four to five days, of which the first three were given to mathematics, and the fourth, which was counted an easy day, to moral philosophy. Early on the morning of the fifth day the examiners published a preliminary list, in which candidates of about equal merit were bracketed; and on this last day those in the same bracket were re-examined together, with a view to arranging them in an order of merit.<sup>5</sup>

The prominence given to mathematics in the final examination effectively discouraged the pursuit of other studies such as theology or classics.

An anonymous critic attacked this system of examination in a pamphlet in 1822 entitled Thoughts on the present System of academic Education in the University of Cambridge.

On an average for the past three years, 146 men enter the Senate House annually at the usual degree time. Of these 52 obtain honours, of whom 19 are wranglers or proficients in mathematics; 19 are senior optimes, or second-rate mathematicians; 14 are junior optimes or smatterers. What are the remaining 94? What have they to shew for an education of three years and a quarter, at an expense which cannot be short of £700? What have they got in religion, ethics, metaphysics, history, classics, jurisprudence? Who can tell? For, except for the short examination of one day in Locke, Paley and Butler in the Senate House, the University must be supposed to know *nothing* of their progress in these things. Their University examination for their degree is in *Mathematics*.<sup>6</sup>

The writer would have preferred a large and liberal share of honours and rewards to be given to classical studies. He also argued for an examination in the Greek New Testament and in principles of religion to be held at the end of the second year. 'I think the Greek Gospels,



Grotius de Veritate, and the first volume of Bishop Tomline's Theology are sufficient for the proposed examination.'<sup>7</sup> This was to be of a preparatory nature, after which each candidate would determine whether he intended to graduate in mathematics or classics.

There were others in the university who shared these views. The Master of Trinity College, Christopher Wordsworth, published a draft scheme of reform in April 1821 when he was also Vice-Chancellor. He proposed that all candidates for the degree of B.A., after having passed the Senate House examinations, should be obliged to take one in classics and theology, qualifying for honours if passed with distinction, but his plan was rejected by the Senate. A year later, the new Vice-Chancellor, Dr. French the Master of Jesus College, together with the Master of Christ's, Dr. Kaye, persuaded the Senate to approve a scheme related to Wordsworth's earlier plan. The proposal was that candidates for a pass degree should be examined 'on the first two days in the elements of Mathematics as heretofore, on the third day in Locke's Essay on the Human Understanding, Paley's Moral Philosophy and his Evidences of Christianity, and on the fourth day be...required to translate passages from the first six books of the Iliad and the Aeneid.' A classical tripos was also established but only those who had gained mathematical honours were permitted to sit for it - nonetheless this did mark a widening of studies.

The Senate had also approved, but not without severe criticism of it, another scheme proposed by Dr. French on 13 March 1822. This required all undergraduates to pass in their fifth term of residence an examination in one of the Gospels or the Acts of the Apostles in Greek and a Latin author. This very elementary test which came to be known as

the 'Previous Examination' or 'Little Go' could not possibly promote either classical or theological studies but it found support even amongst its critics on the principle that 'half a loaf is better than no bread' and 'get the wedge once in, better things in due time will follow.'<sup>e</sup>

Two supporters of reform were Dr Monk and Dr Kaye. Monk was Regius Professor of Greek 1808-23, Dean of Peterborough 1822-30, Bishop of Gloucester 1830-36 and Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol 1837-53. Kaye was the Master of Christ's College 1814-30, Regius Professor of Divinity 1816-27, Bishop of Bristol 1820-27, and Bishop of Lincoln 1827-53. Monk, writing in 1822 under the pseudonym of Philoquantus, tried to give support to Wordsworth's proposals in A Letter to the Rt Revd John, Lord Bishop of Bristol. In his pamphlet, Monk expressed concern about the imperfect state of preparation of candidates for Ordination and claimed that they were better prepared at Oxford. His reason for this assertion was 'at Oxford there does exist an examination in the elements of theology at which every student must display a competent acquaintance with that essential branch of knowledge, or be precluded from all chance of obtaining his degree.'<sup>e</sup>

Monk knew his open letter would be received sympathetically by the Bishop because three years earlier Dr. Kaye had delivered an oration on Commencement Sunday in which he had expressed concern at the inadequate training of ordinands and had proposed a solution. 'Both friends and enemies in our university complain that, in a time of great difficulty and danger to the Church Establishment, we are sluggish and inactive; that theological studies are neglected by us; and that we do not take sufficient care to instruct and properly qualify those of our young men



who are ordinands.' '° The remedy he proposed was two-fold, firstly 'to compel all Bachelors of Arts, who are designed for Holy Orders, to attend Divinity lectures during two terms after taking their degree. Secondly, that no one should obtain testimonials from his college until he has submitted to a public examination of his proficiency in theological studies, and received the approbation of his examiners.' '°

He praised the Norrisian Professor for his lectures but felt that students required the stimulus of 'the proposed hope of reward and fear of disgrace' if they were to be diligent and attentive. The only reform, however, which the Senate accepted was, as we have already noted, Dr. French's elementary 'Previous Examination'.

Charles Merivale, a student at St John's College from 1826-30 and later to become Dean of Ely, recalled his undergraduate years at Cambridge:

One cannot but look back with some concern at the severe neglect of theological or religious instruction which pervaded the university at this time. Our Freshmen were introduced to Paley's Evidences in lecture room and examinations, but merely as an exercise of memory. Later on they were taken in the same way through Butler's Analogy, and this little bit of training, superficial as it was, seemed to make a considerable impression upon the average Johnian in after life, inculcating as it did, a certain vague but comfortable optimism, which was enhanced perhaps by the confident and self-satisfied tone of Paley's reasoning in his Evidences, his Moral Philosophy, and his Natural Theology. But after all young men must be led to definite conclusions. Let speculation follow afterwards. Paley first and Coleridge afterwards. Further we passed examinations in the Gospels and Acts, but of a very elementary character, suited to a class of freshmen, who, being admitted without any real examination, might be, and often were, profoundly ignorant and utterly unaccustomed to any intellectual effort. The Greek Testament lecture, as I first remember

it, was given on a Sunday evening. It was understood that this was so arranged by the Master in order to prevent the men from attending Simeon's evening sermon. A certain Hastings Robinson was dismissed from his tutorship because he rebelled against this bit of weak persecution. But I believe he stood much alone. Public opinion thought it served him right.<sup>12</sup>

Another critic, using the pseudonym of Eusebius, published a pamphlet in 1826 on The Actual State of Clerical Education examined and a Remedy for its Defects proposed in a Letter to the Rt. Hon. the Earl of Liverpool. The writer appears to have been ignorant of the existence of St Bees Clerical Institution in the diocese of Chester for he asserted: 'The defect I have to point out is, THAT THERE DOES NOT EXIST IN ENGLAND ANY THEOLOGICAL SCHOOL CONNECTED WITH THE NATIONAL CHURCH; and the Reform which I have to propose is, THE ESTABLISHMENT OF SUCH SCHOOLS IN EVERY DIOCESE.'<sup>13</sup>

With regard to the universities and more particularly to Cambridge, he drew attention to a disputed understanding of their purpose:

If it be the duty of the Universities to afford a complete liberal education, fitted to support the superstructure of any professional study, they do their job effectually. But if it be their duty to complete the Lawyer and Physician, or the Clergyman, in the peculiar knowledge of his profession, that duty they do not perform; and in the case of the Lawyer and Physician it is not expected from them. If it be expected from them in the case of the Clergyman, the error arises from confounding Religious with Clerical education. The former is, indeed, afforded at both Universities, but the latter is not even attempted. As a proof of this it may be sufficient to mention, that all the religious or theological knowledge required from students is required, and with perfect propriety, from all indiscriminately, without any reference to their future profession. The knowledge is such as every Christian man ought to possess and therefore it is required of all.<sup>14</sup>



He then outlined what a sufficient course of theological instruction might be like:

It should demand as a previous requisite, such a course of classical study as may render, at least, the Greek Scriptures, the works of the Greek and Latin Fathers, of the Commentators and of the great Theologians who have written principally in Latin, readily intelligible to the student. It ought to comprehend, first, a careful examination of the Scriptures both by verbal and by exegetical criticism; second, a synopsis of ecclesiastical history, and deduced from this a clear view of the reasons for our Church formularies and government; third, a system of dogmatic theology; and, fourth, a course of instruction on pulpit composition, and the pastoral care. No one will say, that in this rude sketch any article is unnecessary; or that a system of theological instruction would not be miserably defective which did not comprehend them all. But at which of our universities is such a course of instruction afforded? I will speak only of that which I know. It is certainly not afforded at Cambridge. There are at Cambridge three Professors of Divinity, and one of Casuistry, who must also be considered a Divinity Professor. Of these neither the Regius nor the Casuistical ever lectured till lately when the Regius Professor began a series of lectures on the writings of the Fathers. 's

Whilst this was a considerable improvement on the situation in the eighteenth century Marsh delivered only thirty lectures between 1807 and 1823. 'The Norrisian Professor reads lectures regularly, and these are the only ones which the candidate for Orders is required to attend. Fifteen years ago (and I am not aware that any change has since taken place) these lectures were entirely confined to the Evidences of Christianity; and a certificate of having attended twenty five of them was all that was required by the Ordaining Bishop. 's

It would be unfair to compare these professors with their modern professional counterparts for their contemporaries had quite different

expectations of them. They were often pluralists who did not see the task of teaching or academic research as a high priority. For nearly a hundred years prior to Herbert Marsh's inaugural lectures, few of his predecessors had delivered any lectures despite drawing a stipend of £1,000 a year for the office they held in the university. The 1802 University Calendar observed with sorrow that Professor Mainwaring had relinquished giving lectures 'for want of a sufficient audience.' This was hardly surprising as there were no examinations in theology for undergraduates and tuition anyway was given in the individual colleges rather than in the university. Nothing forced the professors to teach. Richard Watson held the Regius Professorship of Divinity from 1771-1816 and the Bishopric of Llandaff in conjunction with it from 1782-1816 and drew an equally handsome stipend but never delivered a lecture. He chose to live on the banks of Lake Windermere and only rarely visited Cambridge. He did, however, publish a collection of theological tracts in six volumes in 1785 which he thought suitable reading for undergraduates, preferably 'a small portion of every day or the whole of every Sunday.' With the consent of the University he appointed a Deputy in his place whom he paid a stipend of £200 a year. His successor, John Kaye, waited five years before giving his first course of lectures, and in the introductory one apologised for lecturing but explained that as times had changed a course of lectures might be welcomed! He lectured only intermittently and on becoming Bishop of Bristol in 1820 retained his professorship at Cambridge, only giving it up when he was translated to Lincoln in 1827. The holders of the Knightsbridge Professorship of Moral Theology or Casuistical Divinity had been equally inactive; Francis Barnes held this office from 1813-38 and never lectured once. It



was left to William Whewell, Fellow and Tutor of Trinity College from 1818-38 and then Master of that college, to rescue this professorship from its torpor.

As Eusebius noted in 1826, the exception to this dismal roll of inactive academics had been the Norrisian Professors of Revealed Religion, a chair founded in 1780, whose holder was required to give fifty lectures in term time each academic year, and no lecture was to count unless six persons had been present. For this he was paid a stipend of £100 a year, the most poorly paid of the Divinity Professors. It was stipulated that in this course of lectures the Professor must read certain chosen portions of Pearson's Exposition of the Creed; after this the general subject was 'Evidences of Christianity'. Whilst the bishops soon required all Cambridge ordinands to present a certificate of having attended twenty-five of these lectures, their value was in doubt. G.A. Selwyn, later Bishop of New Zealand and then of Lichfield, who graduated in 1831, described the course as 'the mere sitting out a reading of Pearson to which nobody attended.'<sup>17</sup> G.E. Corrie of St Catherine College noted in his diary on 4 March 1836:

I had a long conversation with Thorp of Trinity College (who is Examining Chaplain to the Bishop of Gloucester) on the subject of examinations for Orders. He complained of the want of efficiency which attaches to the requirements of the bishops that a candidate for Orders should bring a certificate of attendance at the Norrisian Divinity Professor's lectures. I suggested that if instead of a certificate every bishop had taken the matter into his own hands, and examined in the subjects and books lectured on by the Professor, attendance on those lectures would be a very different affair from what it is now. Men would give attention to what they would hereafter have to be examined in, and not as now, consider the Professor's certificate a mere piece of waste paper earned by a waste of time.<sup>18</sup>

'Eusebius' had also been critical of the bishops for requiring so little of their ordinands by way of theological competence:.

The present system, my Lord, if system it can be called, is for young men to obtain as much theological learning as they can, or as little as they think will be required of them, by their own private unassisted and undirected study. And can any man doubt that the time usually devoted to the study of Divinity by candidates for orders, would produce much higher and more beneficial results, if, it were passed under the guidance of authorized and learned directors?... Those, however, who are best acquainted with the usual studies of young men preparing for orders in the Church of England, will be aware that in most cases there is little danger of their losing themselves among a multiplicity of pursuits. Tomline's Elements, Burnet or even Welshman on the Articles, the Gospels and one or two of the Epistles read in the original with any respectable commentary, would in many dioceses be considered as quite sufficient for admission to Orders... The more respectable bodies of Dissenters require a higher preparation than this from their candidates.<sup>19</sup>

His solution was that 'there should be instituted a Theological School for each Diocese at the Cathedral town; and that the clergy attached to the Cathedral, or a part of them, as may be necessary, should be the Professors.'<sup>20</sup>

Another Cambridge academic who argued publicly for reform in the preparation of men intended for the ordained ministry was the Revd Dr. R.N. Adams, Fellow of Sidney Sussex College, who along with G.E. Corrie was a candidate for the Norrisian Professorship in 1838 to which the latter was appointed. On Commencement Sunday, 4 July 1830, Adams preached a sermon subsequently published as The Qualifications for the Christian Ministry. He argued in it that the necessary qualifications were of the heart and of the understanding, and the latter should consist of two parts - a course of preparatory mental discipline and a



course of professional study. 'Pre-eminence in the studies which belong more immediately to the clerical profession, can scarcely if ever be attained except by a mind inured to patient investigation and profound thought, trained up to solidity of judgement, accuracy of discrimination, and acuteness of reasoning, enriched and adorned with the learning and the taste of ancient times, accustomed to clearness and precision and order in its statements, and taught to express its thoughts in natural and nervous, but at the same time, graceful and harmonious language.'<sup>21</sup>

This mental training as a preparatory discipline he felt was already being adequately provided by the university curriculum - in his judgement 'few systems will be found equal, none superior to our own.' Adams had no wish to challenge and alter the existing course of mathematical and classical reading previous to the first degree, but he argued that it needed to be followed by a course of professional study which covered the duties of the clergy: the investigation of truth, the instruction of the people, and the refutation of error. In his scheme the Evidences of Christianity held first place, followed by a thorough study of the Scriptures, then rigorous training in the art of preaching, and in order to combat heresy, a knowledge of the history of past controversies.<sup>22</sup>

In his view, the universities had a dual role as 'seminaries of sound learning for all to whom a learned education is essential, and they are peculiarly schools for the established church.' They failed miserably in the second as no pains were taken by the university in her public capacity to teach ordinands the duties of their future calling or enable them to perform these duties. He analysed the problem as he saw it: 'If

it be true, that, during the undergraduate course of reading, no exercise is demanded of the clerical portion of our students beyond those which are required from others of the same standing, - that it is not known beyond the walls of each individual college, nay frequently not even within them, which of our members are clerical students and which are not, - that after their degree they are left to gather from private stores that stock of professional knowledge which shall be deemed sufficient for their admission into holy orders, - that both the kind and the quantity of professional knowledge thus required, depend altogether on the private judgement of each individual bishop, - and that a different scale of qualification actually exists in almost every diocese in the kingdom; if these things be true, is it too much to affirm that a public, authorized course of professional study for the clergy of the established church, has absolutely no existence?'<sup>23</sup>

His proposed solution was to return to what he believed had been the principle if not the form of education given in the university centuries earlier when students were admitted at a younger age. That was to provide some professional and theological training in the universities after the first degrees. He recommended abridging the first degree course by one term and then requiring B.A.s who had declared themselves candidates for Holy Orders to spend 'three full terms, in the new character of avowed theological students, and during that period to give their uninterrupted attention to a prescribed course of professional readings - And lastly, to stimulate and reward the exertions of these students, by honourable distinctions, to be earned in a public University Examination'<sup>24</sup> Adams' proposals were an update on similar suggestions made nearly fifty years earlier by the Revd John Jebb in his



Remarks upon the present mode of Education in the University of Cambridge to which is added a Proposal for its Improvement.

When Adams sermon was published, he added a ten page appendix to it setting out in greater detail his plan for a course of study including the reading list (See Vol 2 Appendix 1 A). He also wished to see the 'Previous Examination' made more important by a division of names into three or more classes, and likewise the proposed Divinity examination should have both ordinary and honours pass levels. The one argument against his plan which he conceded in advance had some force was the extra expense involved; his answer to it was that students should exercise greater budgetary control over their expenditure during the first three years!

Bishop Blomfield, who had had the experience of St Bees Clerical Institution during his episcopate at Chester, and had the Church Missionary Society's Training Institution at Islington and the proposed King's College in his new diocese of London, argued in his Primary Visitation Charge to the clergy of London in 1830 the need for better trained clergy and for the universities to do more. But unlike Adams he did not feel it should be left entirely to the universities:

We...are required by the exigencies of the Church - to look for a more systematic and laborious preparation for the ministry; and to expect that clerical accomplishments shall be raised with the universally rising qualifications of every other profession. We have perhaps some reason for wishing, that our Universities should do more than, even with the recent improvements in their system, they have hitherto done, towards effecting this desirable result. For my own part, I entertain a very strong opinion as to the necessity of one or more theological seminaries, in which, besides going through a prescribed course of study for one or two years, the candidates for Holy Orders might be exercised in reading the Liturgy of our Church, and in the composition

and delivery of sermons. The establishment of these, which need not interfere with the accustomed course of academical study, must necessarily be a work of difficulty, requiring much consideration and forethought. In the meantime we have it in our power, by exercising a stricter scrutiny, to secure a certain degree of competency in our candidates.<sup>25</sup>

Adams's proposals met with an appreciative response a year later from the Chancellor of the Diocese of Chester, the Rev Henry Raikes, another Cambridge graduate, in an extensive work entitled Remarks on Christian Education. His own proposals for the training of ordinands at university went further than Adams had done:

A regulation, which should allow young men intended for the Ministry, to substitute studies more professional for those which are pursued by others, during the last two years of their residence; would offer to the future parochial clergy a means of theological knowledge which must be considered invaluable. They might with ease, during this period, gain such a degree of acquaintance with the original languages of the Scriptures, with ecclesiastical history and with the principles of exegetic divinity, as might give character to all their future labours, and increase their usefulness incalculably.<sup>26</sup>

Raikes's book shows him to have been acquainted with the course of studies in the training establishments of other denominations and in other countries, among them the three year course at the American Episcopal Church's Seminary in New York. In addition to the standard theological works, Raikes recommended two new practical guides to the work of the ordained ministry - Edward Bickersteth's The Christian Student and Charles Bridges' The Christian Ministry. Bickersteth in addition to being Secretary of the Church Missionary Society had also trained many of the Society's students before their training college was opened in Islington in 1825 (see Chapter 4).



In 1832 an anonymous clergyman published A Letter addressed to the Rt Revd Father in God, Edward, Lord Bishop of Llandaff in which he made alternative proposals. He acknowledged that the universities were 'seminaries for affording a liberal education to the youth of all classes in our land' and not professional training establishments, yet he deplored the fact that no guidance was given in theological reading and study to those who had taken their first degree. The solution, he believed, was to be found in the parishes - 'It has long occurred to me, that, if the venerable fathers of the Church were to require of every candidate for Holy Orders, in addition to the certificate of a degree, a further certificate of his having passed a year, subsequent to his graduation, in the house of some clergyman, engaged on the active discharge of parochial duty, much would be done to relieve the evil complained of.'<sup>27</sup>

In the summer of that same year Bishop Burgess who in his previous diocese had founded St David's College Lampeter (see Chapter 5) delivered a Visitation Charge to the clergy of the diocese of Salisbury. In it he commented on the need for reforms in the Church including ordination training:

The education of young men intended for the Ministry of the Church is another subject for Reform, and is of great interest to us all. For though it is, in many respects, improved by the attention to religious knowledge in the public examinations at our Universities, yet it is still in an imperfect state; their previous studies being too general, too inappropriate to their future prospects, too neglectful, not only of the Evidences of Christianity, but of the first principles of our Faith; too neglectful of the writings of the Primitive Church.<sup>28</sup>

In an appendix to the published edition of the charge, he gave clear directions to candidates for Orders who might come to him, listing the

books they would be examined in. (See Vol 2 Appendix 1 B) This is an example of 'best episcopal practice' for as Dr Adams had noted in 1830 one of the problems facing ordinands was knowing what individual bishops would expect of them at their Deacon's examination.

In 1833 there was a renewed attack on the divinity professors and lecturers at Cambridge. It came from a former Fellow of St John's College, the Revd F.R. Hall, in the form of a hard-hitting pamphlet which listed the many deficiencies in training men for the ministry at the university. He entitled it A Letter respectfully addressed to the Heads of Houses and the Senior Fellows in the University of Cambridge, on the defective state of theological instruction in the university, in reference to the candidates for Holy Orders. He listed the various divinity professors in turn, showing up their idleness and ineffectiveness. Professor Thomas Turton, for example, who had been Regius Professor since 1827 and Dean of Peterborough since 1830 had yet to deliver his first lecture. The College Hebrew lectureships, he claimed, were sinecures, and the College divinity lecturers only lectured on a Gospel or the Acts and Paley's Evidences. Even the Norrisian Professor did not escape criticism, and Hall's judgements on him are in line with other contemporary criticism noted earlier - 'The Norrisian Professor delivers yearly the same course of lectures, and, without any examination, gives a testimonial to every student or B.A., who has attended twenty five of them; though nothing is more notorious than that his lecture room is anything but a place of study, many indulging themselves in lounging upon the seats or reading the newspaper or a novel.'<sup>29</sup>

Corrie took a much firmer line with his students when he became the



Norrisian Professor; he noted in his diary on 13 March 1840:

I had an interview with a youth whom I had desired to call on me today, having yesterday observed that he was reading during my Public Lecture. I spoke very seriously on the great importance of regarding every preparation for Holy Orders as a sacred duty, and not as a matter of form. He behaved very well, and I trust some good may come of our interview, but I refused to admit him to the Lectures this Term.<sup>30</sup>

When he was appointed in 1838 Corrie wrote to his friend Temple Chevallier on the staff of the new university at Durham telling him of his plans for a course of lectures. Chevallier urging the necessity of examinations to make students listen to lectures commented 'I do not wonder at your finding a difficulty in introducing an examination. But I am certain that the lectures, be they as valuable as they may, will be thrown away upon ordinary men who are always extraordinarily idle and careless unless their attention is fixed by the necessity of passing an examination.'<sup>31</sup> Corrie also made some provision for graduates - he noted in his diary on 27 October 1838 'I had a private Divinity Lecture today for the B.A.s of the University and the men of my own College, about 25 in number.'

The year 1834 witnessed a flood of pamphlets and much public debate on the admission of Dissenters to the two ancient English universities and to their degrees. A petition was presented to the House of Lords signed by 62 resident members of Cambridge University praying that Dissenters might be admitted to all privileges; this was quickly countered by another petition with 250 signatures opposing it. The House of Commons passed a Bill which would have introduced this reform but the House of Lords rejected it by 187 to 85. One of the many pamphleteers was

Professor Turton of Cambridge who argued in his Thoughts on the Admission of Persons without regard to their religious opinions to certain degrees in the Universities of England that religious instruction would suffer if Dissenters holding unorthodox views were allowed to proceed to degrees. Connop Thirlwall, a Fellow and Tutor of Trinity College, who favoured their admission demolished the professor's arguments in his Letter to the Rev Thomas Turton D.D. on the Admission of Dissenters to Academical Degrees. In it he said things about college life which offended the Master and some of his colleagues:

In the first place then I must observe - and I am almost ashamed of stating so evident and notorious a fact - that our colleges are not theological seminaries: that they are so far from being dedicated exclusively or principally to the study of theology, that among all the branches of learning cultivated in them there is none which occupies a smaller share of our time and attention...I may, I hope, be permitted to allude to a series of discourses, delivered not long ago by our Master in the College Chapel, one of which was addressed to that part of our youth, which is designed for the ecclesiastical profession. The main object of this discourse, as must be remembered by everyone who heard it, was to suggest to those students who proposed to enter the church, that it was not impossible for them, amid the regular duties of the place, to find leisure for a course of private reading, which might be a useful preparation for their intended calling. Some theological works were recommended, and other directions were given with this view. But it was assumed throughout that all was to depend on each individual's private inclination, and on the time which he could economize, and withdraw from the ordinary pursuits of the College and the University.<sup>32</sup>

Turton had also made much of the role of college tutors as religious educators of the students in their care. Again Thirlwall challenged this view:

In whatever other point of view a college Tutor may be considered as



standing in the room of a parent, I am afraid that it would be a somewhat exaggerated idea of the intimacy of this relation, to suppose that he commonly thinks it a part of his duty, to inquire into the state of his pupil's religious feelings or habits, or that their private intercourse is one of the ordinary means by which religion is communicated to our students.<sup>33</sup>

He was equally critical of the college lectures in divinity which he claimed were limited almost entirely to the study of a Gospel and the Acts, sometimes part of an Epistle and Paley's Evidences. As for college examinations - 'Their papers are made up of questions on points of grammar, of chronology, of geography, of history, of antiquities: but the occurrence of even a single question on any point of doctrine is, as I have said, a most rare exception to the general practice.'<sup>34</sup>

One of Thirlwall's colleagues at Trinity, William Whewell, disagreed with much of his criticisms but conceded 'with regard to the intercourse of the Tutor and his pupils, I am very ready to allow (with sorrow) that what has been done in the way of inculcating religious impressions falls very far short of that which is desirable, and which probably ought to have been attempted.'<sup>35</sup> Another Fellow of Trinity, R.W. Evans, refuted Thirlwall's strictures on college lectures in divinity in a three-page leaflet detailing the lectures on the N.T. which he himself had given during the past year in his own college. He insisted, 'I have all along given all the information which I thought had reference to the text, not only in Philological (under which term I include Antiquarian, Chronological, and Geographical) but also Doctrinal point of view; indeed I am at a loss to conceive how a Lecturer can proceed three leaves deep, either into a Gospel or into the Acts, without feeling himself called upon to give at least some intimation of the doctrines of

the Divinity of our Lord and of the Personality of the Holy Ghost.'<sup>36</sup>

Fourteen of the fellows and tutors from nine colleges issued a joint statement which they had printed and circulated privately refuting Thirlwall's charge that they contributed little or nothing to the religious education of the students - 'We, the Undersigned, who in our respective Colleges are or have been engaged in lecturing on the New Testament or on subjects connected with the study of Divinity, feel ourselves called upon publicly to deny the correctness of those statements so far as regards our practice and experience.'<sup>37</sup> William Selwyn, a former Fellow of St John's, made a similar defence but at greater length in his Extracts from the College Examinations in Divinity for the last four years with a Letter to the Lecturers and Examiners in the several Colleges. His work showed that though there had been some questions on doctrinal matters, in particular on the divinity of Jesus and on the Atonement, Thirlwall had been largely justified in his criticisms. Thirlwall's pamphlet, however, cost him his job because of what he wrote about the worship in his college chapel, an issue we shall examine later.

Public criticism continued. In 1835 more than three hundred noblemen, M.P.s and clergy subscribed to an Address to the Archbishops and Bishops complaining about the unsatisfactory training for the ordained ministry provided at the universities. Their appeal reflects that confusion about the proper role of a university education which we have already noted in other writers and would-be reformers. They acknowledged the importance of secular learning but that was insufficient; what was needed was:

that appropriate knowledge, which may prepare the Clergy, from their first entrance on their ministry, to be well-instructed religious teachers of the people; which shall secure to them the respect of



their flocks, make them wise to win souls, and enable them to maintain the truth against gainsayers... But the species of learning, we regret to say, which is most important, nay, wholly indispensable, is not taught in our Universities. The preparatory studies, pursued in those seats of learning, are of a character too general and vague to have any sufficient bearing on the future usefulness of the Christian minister.... The details of the requisite plan of study it would not become us to attempt to suggest to your Lordships. Encouragement would of course be given, in the way of examination and classification, to the study of the Scriptures in the original languages; to the acquisition of Biblical knowledge and the just principles of interpretation; to ecclesiastical history; to a correct, reverent and impressive manner of reading the Services of the Church; to the composition and delivery of sermons; to psalmody; to a right view of parochial duties and other branches of theological and ministerial knowledge. 38

The question being put to the bishops was - How do you propose to remedy this defect? One of their number, Dr. Monk of Gloucester, in a sermon preached before the university on Commencement Sunday 5 July 1835 urged the need of systematic instruction followed by the test of examinations and the award of distinctions - 'An open competition in theological knowledge, at a suitable period after all the other trials of juvenile proficiency, will be found at once the most effectual and the most practicable measure.' 39 The Archbishop of Canterbury, William Howley, made his views known to Dr Burton, the Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford, 'The plan which I should prefer, if practicable, would be an effective prosecution of studies at the Universities, with some authorized attestation of proficiency and good conduct analagous to a degree, as a necessary qualification for being admitted a candidate for Holy Orders. Some persons are desirous of establishing theological

seminaries in cathedral towns, to which many important objections are made, in my opinion decisive.'<sup>40</sup> The same solution was offered by a 'Resident Member of the University' in his Hints for the Introduction of an improved course of study in the University of Cambridge... together with an inquiry into the necessity and practicability of a further extension of the study of divinity. His recommendation was a six month course in divinity for graduate ordinands followed by an examination.

1841 saw the publication of three pamphlets by Cambridge men which contributed to a significant change in the provision of theological education in the university. Their publication at this time may have been influenced by the founding of the first two theological colleges for graduates - at Chichester in 1839 and at Wells in 1840; Durham University too was attracting Oxbridge graduates for a one year course in theology. The first of these publications came from the Dean of Ely, George Peacock, in the form of his Observations on the Statutes of the University. He saw the university's most important function 'as one of the two great national nurseries for supplying the Church with a well-trained and learned clergy' - a function being inadequately met. He recommended 'regular and systematic courses of lectures to be given every year' in a wide variety of theological subjects by professors who would examine all candidates for Holy Orders attending their lectures, and they would issue joint certificates, replacing the certificates of the Norrisian Professor. Most ordinands could expect to qualify for this joint certificate after taking their B.A. degree but that need not be the rule in every case. His plan included the appointment of two new professors, one in Biblical Criticism and the other in Ecclesiastical History. This latter suggestion may have been prompted by the knowledge



that two similar appointments were being planned for Oxford.

Charles Perry, a Fellow and Tutor of Trinity College, afterwards first Bishop of Melbourne, joined in the debate with his pamphlet Clerical Education considered with an especial reference to the Universities in a Letter to the Rt Revd Lord Bishop of Lichfield. His declared aim was 'the immediate institution of an effective system of theological instruction in the University of Cambridge.' He argued that theological education was the proper concern of the universities, including Dublin and Durham, and more than that solely of the universities with their abundance of academic staff. He did not at all approve of the theological colleges at Chichester and Wells.<sup>41</sup> He outlined a scheme of study covering two or three terms following graduation as a B.A., with an examination and a certificate to replace the old one of attendance at Divinity lectures, and this he saw as a possible prerequisite to proceeding to the degree of B.D. As most graduates were aged about twenty two and had a year to wait anyway before they reached the minimum canonical age for ordination, he argued that it made sense for the university to make this provision, and then practical training should follow in the parishes during a diaconate lasting twelve months. 'To accompany an active and judicious parochial clergyman in his private ministrations, when he may consider it discreet and fitting, - and to visit on his behalf, and under his direction, among his people, - and to assist him in his superintendence of his schools, - and to gather the lessons of his experience by communicating with him upon the various cases, which continually occur to his observations, - this will constitute the best experimental Clerical Education.'<sup>42</sup>

In a letter to Professor Corrie dated 9 March 1841 Perry sought to

enlist his support for a Syndicate to consider the subject of instituting an examination for 'Students in Divinity'. In it he again expressed his fear about the diocesan theological colleges - 'For myself, I fear lest they should be productive eventually of much mischief to the Church; and the only security which I can see against them is the immediate adoption of a system of Theological Instruction in the Universities.'<sup>43</sup> Perry had already enlisted the support of the Bishop of London and enclosed a letter from Blomfield dated three days earlier - 'I entirely agree with you in your general view of the question of a course of Theological Instruction to be provided by the University, and I would add that no time should be lost, for the work is actually in hand at Oxford, and Cambridge, if it does not move forthwith, will have only the second rate praise of reluctantly copying the example of her Sister University. Why should not those resident members of our University, and no doubt there are many, who think with you, take up the subject at once, conferring of course in the first place with the Regius Professor and the ruling powers?'<sup>44</sup>

Independently of these two publications, a fellow and tutor of Christ's College, the Revd James Hildyard, published in February 1841 the text of five sermons which he had preached before the university during the previous month. One of them included some remarks on the inadequacy of theological education at Cambridge, together with A proposed plan for the introduction of a systematic study of theology in the University by students designed for the Church, after taking their B.A. degree. Later that year Hildyard published a further sermon on The obligation of the University to provide for the professional education of its members designed for Holy Orders.



These pamphlets provoked considerable debate in both ancient universities and led to numerous published comments on them, not all of which were sympathetic. The Church of England Quarterly Review criticized the changes proposed by the three writers, preferring diocesan theological colleges 'under the immediate eye of the Bishop' and expressing the wish 'most gladly would we see them rising under the wing of every cathedral.'<sup>45</sup>

A Syndicate was appointed which met frequently for a year before some modest reforms were at last agreed. Corrie reveals in his diary that he was opposed to the plan for a theological examination 'as a voluntary thing' and refused to cooperate as an examiner on the grounds that 'I had already more than I could well get through.' The reform was largely due to the persistent efforts of Dr Turton the Regius Professor of Divinity and the Senate approved the proposed changes in the university examinations on 11 May 1842.

In future, Old Testament history would be included in the 'Previous Examination', and candidates for the ordinary degree would be required to show knowledge of certain specified portions of church history as well as more extensive acquaintance with the New Testament and with Paley's Moral Philosophy, and candidates for mathematical honours were to attend 'with the other questionists the examination in Paley's Moral Philosophy, the N.T. and Ecclesiastical History', though their place in the Tripos list was in no way to be affected by their performance in this examination. The really significant innovation was the Voluntary Theological Examination for Bachelors of Arts and for students of Law who had performed the exercises for their degree, and provision was also made for an examination in Hebrew for those who had passed the

Theological Examination. The subjects to be examined in were - 'Greek Testament, assigned portions of the Early Fathers, Ecclesiastical History, the Articles of Religion and the Liturgy of the Church of England.' Although it was denominated 'voluntary', Dr Whewell, the Master of Trinity College, succeeded in making it virtually mandatory.

In October 1843, being then Vice-Chancellor, he addressed a circular letter to the bishops in which he pointed out that the importance of the new examinations 'in the eyes of our students, and their influence upon the theological studies in this place, will depend very much upon the weight which their Lordships, the Bishops, are understood to assign to the circumstances of a person having passed them satisfactorily.'<sup>46</sup> Dr Kaye, the Bishop of Lincoln, was the first to require all his Cambridge ordinands to have passed this voluntary examination, and his example was quickly followed by most of the other bishops. J.J. Blunt, Marsh's successor as Lady Margaret Professor, reported to the University Commission in 1851, 'The Voluntary Theological Examination came into operation in 1843, in which year there were fourteen candidates; in 1844 there were thirty-six, in 1845 eighty-three, and so on, in constant increase, till last year when there were two hundred and five, which will probably prove pretty nearly the maximum.'<sup>47</sup>

Alfred Ollivant who had been the first Vice-Principal of St David's College Lampeter was appointed Regius Professor of Divinity in 1843 and entered with zest into the arrangements for the new Voluntary Examination. This was altered and improved in 1856 and lasted until 1873 when it was replaced a year later by a Theological Tripos as an avenue to the B.A. degree. The case for instituting a Theological Tripos was argued in 1846 in A Letter to the Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity on



Education for the Priesthood in the University of Cambridge by 'A Fellow of a College' who was also concerned to see college fellowships being bestowed for proficiency in divinity as for mathematics and classics. The Voluntary Theological Examination, he conceded, was a 'very useful course of studies (as far as it goes)', the trouble was it didn't go far enough so he pleaded 'for increasing the efficiency of the university as a place of education for the Clergy.'<sup>48</sup> Both Blunt and Professor J.A. Jeremie who succeeded Ollivant in 1850 wrote in their evidence to the Royal Commission of the very large numbers of students attending their lectures. One reason for this was that by a Grace of the Senate, passed on 31 October 1848, all candidates for the Theological Examination were required to attend, during one Term, the lectures of two at least of the three divinity professors. They were also attended by other members of the University who were not candidates for Holy Orders. Jeremie, however, was not satisfied with the arrangements: 'No inconsiderable knowledge of the various branches of theology may be acquired by regular attendance at the lectures of the three Divinity Professors and the Regius Professor of Hebrew; but I think it impossible to give a complete and systematic course, unless the period of residence required in the case of all, who intend to present themselves at the theological examination, be extended at least one year beyond the date of their B.A. degree.'<sup>49</sup>

Some of their public lectures found their way into print and made a valuable contribution to the growing body of literature on the work of the ordained ministry. A notable example was Professor Blunt's The Parish Priest: his Acquirements, principal Obligations, and Duties, published posthumously which became a best-seller. He delivered these

lectures every second or third year, so that all ordinands would have an opportunity of hearing them. Many testified to their great value, including Benson, Lightfoot and Westcott. The opening sentence of the first lecture states his purpose:

These Lectures, the results of nearly twenty years experience, will be directed to the .Reading of the Parish Priest - his Sermons - his Schools - his Parochial Ministrations - his Pastoral Conversation - his Observance of Rubrics and Canons - and his True Position as a Churchman; their end and aim practical; indeed, simply to be of use to the young man who is about to undertake the charge of a parish, and has yet his lesson to learn.<sup>50</sup>

A.H. Wratislaw, Fellow and Tutor of Christ's College, was another critic of the Voluntary Theological Examination which he called 'an examination without a previous course'.<sup>51</sup> He was looking for a greatly reformed system of university education with professional academics enjoying proper remuneration. His judgement on the system of which he was part was damning:

Almost all the public instruction which the Student receives, - certainly all that he has the slightest encouragement to attend to, - is derived from the Tutors and Lecturers of his own College. And College Lectures are neither more nor less than mere schoolboy lessons, attended by mixed classes of ignoramuses and proficientes. Lectures properly so called exist but in one large College, and there only as the exception, and not the rule. The Lecturers are mostly very young and very ill paid, and when possessed of any ability, usually soon betake themselves to situations where they are better paid, and can look to obtaining a permanent settlement.<sup>52</sup>

He also favoured the admission of Dissenters to degrees and the provision of 'proper professional education' for the future clergy of the Church of England in 'particular Colleges founded for their use'.<sup>53</sup>

Wratislaw's comments are a reminder that most tuition was received in



the separate colleges and not in the wider university. College tutors were in theory the educators, not the university professors, but as Sheldon Rothblatt's study The Revolution of the Dons has shown, for those who wished to win academic honours their real mentors were the private tutors or coaches.<sup>54</sup> A coach's job was to cram an undergraduate so that he won a high place in the examination lists; it was not to educate him morally and religiously *in loco parentis*. That was the duty of his college tutor.

The situation as regards tuition and pastoral care clearly varied greatly from one college to another and changed from time to time in the same college depending on who the Master and resident fellows and tutors were. At the beginning of the century, for example, Magdalene College was known as an Evangelical establishment thanks to the influence of three fellows - Samuel Hey who became President or Vice-Master, William Farish and Henry Jowett - to whom serious minded parents could safely entrust their sons. As a contemporary put it, Magdalene College was the general resort of young men seriously impressed with a sense of religion, and the kind of college that poor students in receipt of grants from such clerical societies as the Yorkshire Elland Society could be sent to safely. By the middle of the century, Magdalene's reputation was very different. Queens' under its Evangelical President Isaac Milner, who was also Dean of Carlisle, was another haven for the sons of Evangelical parents. It was generally said that Milner attracted them to Cambridge and Simeon (about whom more later) trained them. Corpus Christi College under its new Master John Lamb in 1822, the son of a clergyman, became noted as a college for ordinands and this tradition continued under his two successors - from

1822 to about 1880 the majority of Corpus graduates took Holy Orders.<sup>55</sup> In 1836 Downing College, then the smallest of the Cambridge Colleges, looked as if it would change markedly. F.D. Maurice was invited to go as Tutor but after a visit in November declined the offer. A friend of his explained the attraction: 'A new Master has just been appointed at Downing who purposes establishing a new order of things, making Theology and Christian Philosophy the centre of all studies, and discouraging the reading of honours.' One reason for Maurice's refusal was that the appointment of the Master himself was being questioned and was likely to be brought into the Court of Chancery.<sup>56</sup>

A college tutor might be excellent in one respect but quite lacking in another - F.D. Maurice who entered Trinity College in October 1823 found his classical lecturer, Julius Hare, to be an admirable and stimulating teacher and became one of his favourite pupils yet Hare maintained a distant relationship with him:

I am particularly pleased with his manner, especially that of recommending books bearing upon the subject in question, but out of the regular College routine...I believe that Hare gave some lectures on the Greek Testament to the students of the second year, but I never heard any of them, nor had I any conversation with him on theological subjects. In fact, I had very few opportunities of conversing with him on any subject.<sup>57</sup>

An integral part of college life of particular importance to ordinands was the daily worship in the college chapel which all were expected to attend as the members of a Christian community. Not to attend was a disciplinary offence. The actual requirements relating to chapel attendance varied from college to college but in all of them there was a measure of compulsion which had undesirable results. One discontented student described his situation in 1828:



we are very pious indeed here; poor deluded sinners think if they go twice a week to church, and offer up their prayers in the simplicity of their hearts, they have done enough as far as public devotion is concerned. What a fatal error! Eight times a week is considered not at all too little here, and in some Colleges more is insisted on. "It must produce a marked effect on your conduct and demeanour." It does produce a marked effect, and you may mark it through life, if you please. It produces listlessness and indifference, and it stifles true piety. To be plain with you, attendance at chapel is made much more a point of discipline than a point of duty; I mean religious duty. In some of the Colleges ten times, in others eight, and in none, I believe fewer than five a week are required from all undergraduates; this is a very severe, and very impolitic rule also... The Sacrament itself is treated in many of these establishments (some I except) with equal levity and contempt. Whenever celebration of it is enjoined, you must attend: no scruples of conscience are admissible: no sense of unworthiness can be pleaded.<sup>58</sup>

The three colleges where this writer felt the Sacrament of Holy Communion was attended with due respect were Trinity, Catherine Hall and St John's. The Master of Trinity at this time was Christopher Wordsworth (1820-41) who exacted from his tutors and assistant tutors a pledge that they would attend chapel 'in the morning as much as may be, and on all evenings when you are not engaged by company at home or elsewhere.'<sup>59</sup> The normal requirements for undergraduates in his college were eight times a week including Sunday morning and evening. Wordsworth's passion for discipline in this matter led him to commit a grave error of judgement in 1834. Had Connop Thirlwall limited his criticisms to theological education in his pamphlet of that year, he would have been doing no more than others before him but he chose to attack vigorously the rule of compulsory chapel attendance as well. He shared the views of the anonymous student writing six years earlier,

namely that college chapel services were unedifying:

I greatly doubt whether the ordinary service of our college chapels, or our college lectures, can properly be numbered among the aids to religion which this place furnishes... If one half at least of our present daily congregation was replaced by an equal number of Dissenters, they would not have come with greater reluctance, nor pay less attention to the words of the service, nor be less edified, or more delighted at its close.<sup>60</sup>

Wordsworth did not agree at all with Thirlwall's protest and dismissed him from his post as tutor despite 'urgent remonstrances' by his colleague Whewell on his behalf. Joseph Romilly, another Fellow of Trinity, also disapproving of Wordsworth's action - noted in his diary 'Tuesday 27 May 1834 Today our Master was despotic enough and foolish enough to dismiss Thirlwall from the Tuition on account of the sentiments expressed in his pamphlet concerning the expediency of compulsory Chapel; he will repent so rash a step.'<sup>61</sup> Later that year the Whig ministry conferred a wealthy Yorkshire living on Thirlwall as he was considered 'a sort of martyr to their cause' according to his friend Whewell, and a bishopric would follow later.<sup>62</sup> Whewell stoutly defended the rule of mandatory attendance at chapel in his book On the Principles of English University Education, published three years later:

I acknowledge, with regret, that a College chapel is not, in the sincerity and earnestness of its devotions, all that the friend of religion would wish it to be; but is the Parish Church? In both places there are the cold and careless; in both, the serious and pious. I trust that many a heartfelt prayer arises to heaven in the daily services of our Colleges; and that many, even of the thoughtless and callous, have their thoughts calmed and solemnized by its stillness and order.<sup>63</sup>

This was no empty pious hope. Charles Kingsley, later famous as a



novelist and Christian Socialist who returned to Cambridge as Regius Professor of Modern History, went up to Magdalene College in 1838 full of religious doubts. He wrote to his mother in 1841:

I am going to try what keeping every chapel will do to my mind. I am sure it ought to sober and quiet it. I now really feel the daily chapels a refreshment, instead of an useless and antiquated restraint, as I used to consider them.<sup>64</sup>

Another of those who disagreed with Thirlwall's criticisms of chapel worship was George Pearson, a former Fellow of St John's College, who kept a term in his old college early in 1834 in connection with his university duties as Christian Advocate. His college had at that time upward of two hundred young men who, he claimed, did not abuse the chapel services. 'I have not heard during that time a single disturbance; and with regard to the service in Chapel, which I have been consistently in the habit of attending, I never witnessed more decorum in any congregation whatever.'<sup>65</sup> This was nonetheless an issue of some feeling among the student body who in 1838 formed a Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Undergraduates which circulated weekly lists noting with ribald comments the attendance of fellows at chapel!

Not all the colleges included a sermon at their Sunday services. Students could attend the sermons given each Sunday in the University Church, though few did. F.W. Farrar who was a student at Trinity reminisced:

The morning sermon was as a rule, miserably attended; and the afternoon but scantily, though we used to flock to hear the very small number of really eminent preachers... Preachers were often duller even than their wont, because they unwisely used the University pulpit to air their special "views"... The clerk of St Mary's (or one of the Esquire Bedells, I forget which) is reported to have made the remark, - "I have attended the University sermons morning and evening for

forty years, and thank God I am still a Christian!"<sup>66</sup>

Among the more helpful preachers were some of those who held the office of Hulsean Christian Advocate, an office created in 1803, and held by some men of great distinction such as H.J. Rose (1829-33), first Professor of Divinity in the University of Durham and subsequently Principal of King's College London.

The parish church most favoured by undergraduates was Holy Trinity where the Vicar was Charles Simeon, a Fellow of King's. The story of Simeon's life and contribution to the revival of the Church of England in the early Nineteenth century has been told many times. His ministry amongst the students of Cambridge for half a century was arguably his greatest work; here is part of an account by just one of the hundreds of future clergymen he helped. Abner Brown resided in Cambridge consistently from January 1827 to June 1830 and became closely attached to Simeon. As a student he had the habit of noting down each night, not only his college and other lectures, but also what seemed worth remembering in every sermon, public speech or conversation of any kind which he had heard that day. From these notes he later compiled his book Recollections of the Conversation Parties of the Revd Charles Simeon

M. A. 'Mr Simeon's Conversation Parties - one might style them Colloquial Lectures, for they bring to mind the modes of teaching used by the great Greek moralists - were of four kinds: Clerical Meetings, Sermon Classes, Undergraduates Friday Evening Parties, and ordinary social parties.' <sup>67</sup> Brown reckoned that during the term times of any single academical generation, Simeon spent between one hundred and one hundred and twenty hours discussing and answering questions on a variety of subjects put by gownsmen who attended his Friday evening parties.



'The most explicitly didactic of Mr Simeon's conversational meetings were the sermon parties; in which he gave practical instructions and advice to young men in the details of pulpit teaching. From an early period of his ministry he had endeavoured to afford to such gownsmen as wished it that assistance of which he had himself once felt the need, in the composition and delivery of a sermon, the management of the voice, and similar matters.'<sup>68</sup>

In addition to his oral instruction, Simeon published 21 volumes containing 2,536 sermon outlines. He began his sermon classes in 1790 which were held on Sunday evenings in those days, and his conversation parties in 1812. By Brown's time, both were being held in his rooms on a Friday evening, the conversation parties at 6 and the sermon parties at 8. This is how Abner Brown experienced them:

At the time the writer attended the sermon parties, they had assumed the form of colloquial lectures, to a small invited circle of fifteen or twenty gownsmen, at eight o'clock on every alternate Friday. Whoever wished to attend waited on Mr Simeon, and at once received an invitation for that term, coupled with a request that he would attend regularly, and throughout the whole of the term, for each term had its own course of subjects. Towards the end of the allocated hour, Mr Simeon gave out a text, to be treated in some specific mode, and read on the next occasion; and each student who brought and read aloud his little written sketch received a few kind and pertinent criticisms on it, perhaps at times somewhat severe for young students, but always wound up with suggestions for a more effective and simple mode of handling the subject. The writer has found the lucid and pointed remarks which he heard at those sermon parties of the greatest practical utility in his own ministry.<sup>69</sup>

The meetings most generally known and attended, however, were the Friday tea-parties. Mr Simeon was accustomed, for a long course of years, to have every Friday what he called an open day, when all who chose went at six o'clock to take tea with him in his rooms at King's

College, everyone asking what questions he would, and receiving an answer longer or shorter as might be. Hence, a great variety of subjects came under review, subjects which could not be discussed in the pulpit. There was neither exposition, as such, nor prayer, and the party lasted until the clock struck seven. The numbers varied with the state of the term, but not infrequently sixty or eighty were present... Occasionally the whole of an ordinary Friday party was occupied in remarks and hints which more strictly belonged to sermon party subjects; for Simeon knew that the majority of the men who attended the larger never attended the smaller class of parties; and he often, therefore, spoke in the larger tea-party on points important for all who might possibly thereafter enter into Holy Orders, even if they did not wish to attend the sermon parties.<sup>70</sup>

Among the many anecdotes and remarks recorded by Abner Brown is this one showing Simeon's views on undergraduate studies:

College is the place for study; not only for the studies of the examinations, but for general information. Biblical studies belong more to the time when we have occasion to be always in the Bible - when we are in the parish. At that time studies of a general or secular nature are out of place. If my coachman neglected my horses, or my cook my dinner, that they might read the Bible, they would be displeasing and dishonouring their God. So, if students neglect the duties (i.e. the studies) of the place for the sake of reading their Bibles, they are not in the path of duty. I speak not of the daily reading which is necessary for our daily strength, but of reading the Scriptures as a study. Remember, secular study, as appointed by the authorities, is here your duty to God. Mathematics are important; they will enable us to think clearly.<sup>71</sup>

Simeon does not appear to have been concerned about university reform or the provision of more theological instruction; his ministry was to quicken the sense of the inward call to Holy Orders in the students and to equip them to deliver the message of salvation. When Simeon was asked how a man might be sure that he was truly called to the ministry, he



answered in words which every ordinand could note with profit - 'He must have a deep feeling of the value of his own soul, and of the souls of others; must have a deep love of Christ, readiness to give up all for him and for his work, and for the good of souls.'<sup>72</sup> A contemporary of Simeon's, Sir James Stephen, wrote of him and his work among the students - 'It was that science [i.e. theology] for the diffusion of which the halls and colleges of that learned university had been almost exclusively founded - the only science which Cambridge neglected, and which Charles Simeon taught... a man who, through a long life, supplied from the resources of his own mind, to the youth of one of our universities, the theological education not otherwise to be obtained there.'<sup>73</sup>

Attention has naturally tended to focus on Simeon the Preacher and Teacher, ignoring the efficient and exemplary way in which his parish was run and the care taken to minister to all his parishioners who were not students. He had an effective system of area visitors and lay ministers, which would not have been lost on observant and serious-minded ordinands. One of those who went up to Caius College in October 1836, a month before Simeon's death, and who came under the influence of the ministry at Holy Trinity Church where Simeon's former pupil and Curate, William Carus, succeeded him as Vicar was Harvey Goodwin, afterwards Dean of Ely and then Bishop of Carlisle. Goodwin's biographer describes how this young 'Sim's' life was influenced in Cambridge:

It is not many freshmen either who would have undertaken, as Goodwin did at the request of a friend, to collect subscriptions among his fellow-undergraduates for the Mission for Christianising the Jews. It is fewer men still who would have gone off a mile's walk, immediately after Chapel on a Sunday, to take a morning class in one of the

Barnwell schools, and returned for a second class in the afternoon; yet this Goodwin did throughout his undergraduate career. It is true he had amongst his contemporaries men as serious minded as himself. At nine o'clock on Saturday evening some half a dozen of these friends used to meet for the purpose of an hour's Bible reading; and on Sunday evening Goodwin always went to Carus's room for the fatherly lecture with Scriptural exposition and devotional talk, which Mr Carus was so well qualified to give. But though such companionship and encouragement were an aid to serious effort, the Sunday School labour in the freshman's term remains a noteworthy fact.<sup>74</sup>

One of the other members of that Bible Study group at Caius was Charles Wright Woodhouse, later to become a lecturer at St Bees Theological College. He too in his first year became a Sunday School teacher in Barnwell and a District Visitor at Cherry Hinton, visiting the parish about once a week for the Vicar. . F.J.A. Hort was another who benefited from Carus's ministry for whom he always retained a great regard though he outgrew the Evangelical teaching he received at Holy Trinity. He described in a letter to his father written in his first term at Cambridge in 1846 just how popular that church was - 'I forgot to mention that at Trinity Church in the morning I was fortunately a quarter of an hour early, and so obtained a seat; plenty who came before the service had none, and a good many who came for the sermon could not get in, there not being even standing room anywhere within the walls or doors.'<sup>75</sup>

T.T. Perowne in his Memoir of the Rev T.G. Ragland BD who had entered Corpus Christi College in October 1837 and was a typical Evangelical undergraduate of that time saw their lifestyle as a kind of training for the Ministry. 'There have long existed at Cambridge certain organized agencies for enabling the students, at a very small outlay of time and



effort, and without at all interfering with the studies of the place, to gain some little preparation of a more direct kind for ministerial duties.' The two examples Perowne noted were:

At the Jesus Lane Sunday School - a school entirely maintained and conducted by junior members of the University, with the sanction of the Minister of the large and populous parish for which it is intended - Mr Ragland... became a regular teacher at the end of his first year; and thenceforward taught every Sunday, not excepting the Sunday in the week of the Senate house examination... About the same time [July 1838], he commenced the weekly distribution of tracts, in connection with the Cambridge Undergraduates' Tract Society; a society originally set on foot... for circulating tracts in the villages round Cambridge with the leave of the several parishes visited.<sup>76</sup>

Ragland also cultivated his own spiritual life:

He regularly attended a parish church twice on the Sunday; at first Trinity Church, where Mr Carus then preached, afterwards St Michael's of which Professor Scholefield was the Minister... He also attended and greatly prized the Professor's Friday evening lectures on the Greek Testament. In addition to this, he was in the habit of meeting a few men of his own year and college, for private reading of the Scriptures and prayer every Saturday evening.<sup>77</sup>

Ragland graduated as Fourth Wrangler and was elected Fellow of his college.

Richard Wilton who entered St Catherine's College in 1847 has left a description of his first Sunday in Cambridge which was probably typical for many Evangelical ordinands of his generation:

At 9.30a.m. we had the full morning service in our chapel. At two we went to Great St Mary's, the University Church, where the undergraduates are expected to attend, and heard Dr Christopher Wordsworth preach a sermon 75 minutes in length to prove that the Epistle to the Hebrews was written by St Paul. He proved his point most conclusively, but most of us would have been content with an argument 50 minutes shorter!... We then had a short walk in the beautiful grounds behind

the colleges along the banks of the Cam and under the rows of magnificent elms. We dined and attended evening chapel and then repaired to St Mary's again where Mr Carus preaches on Sunday evenings, and at the conclusion of a delightful service we walked directly to Mr Carus's rooms in Trinity College. The long passage to his door was crowded with students awaiting admission. As soon as the door was open the room, which was very large, was filled with men to the number of two or three hundred. The room was fitted up with long benches and Mr Carus stood by the fire. Although he had just been preaching a long sermon he seemed not the least exhausted, and talked to us for an hour (which passed like five minutes); then read a chapter and offered up in conclusion a beautiful prayer. The men listened with the greatest attention as he spoke of our duties as Members of the University, as Christians and as candidates for the ministry, while with paternal kindness he warned us of the temptations we were exposed to and enumerated the privileges we enjoyed. There was such joyousness in his eye and affection in his manner as could not fail to win their way to the heart of everyone present. He has the most astonishing flow of language that rivets the attention of his hearers. When he had concluded his prayer he went to the door and shook hands with each of us when we went out, giving us his blessing at the same time. Such may give you a faint idea of the pleasantness of Sundays at Cambridge.<sup>78</sup>

Carus's warning of the temptations freshmen were exposed to was necessary. Many parents hesitated to send their sons to Oxford or Cambridge because of the harmful effect it might have on their morals. George Pryme who went up to Trinity in 1799 found the habit of hard drinking was almost as prevalent there as it was in county society:

It was usual to invite a large party to partake of wine and a moderate dessert after hall... There was throughout these parties an endeavour to make each other drunk, and a pride in being able to resist the effects of the wine. If any one wished to go to Chapel he was pressed to return afterwards.<sup>79</sup>

In 1810 after a specially bad bout of riotous behaviour had led to some



undergraduates being convicted in the Chancellor's Court, Vice-Chancellor Isaac Milner denounced such behaviour as: 'Breaking of lamps and windows, shouting and roaring, blowing of horns, galloping up and down streets on horseback or in carriages, fighting and mobbing in the town and neighbourhood villages; in the day time breaking down fences and riding over cornfields, then, eating, drinking, and becoming intoxicated at taverns or ale-houses, and lastly in the night frequenting houses of ill-fame; resisting the lawful authorities, and often putting the peaceable inhabitants of the town in great alarm.'<sup>80</sup>

Some parents found it necessary to withdraw their sons, as did William Wilberforce M.P. his eldest son from Trinity College in 1819 for a variety of offences including 'debauchery, drunkenness, hypocrisy and untruthfulness.'<sup>81</sup> When Julius Hare went up to Trinity College in November 1812, his father wrote to his other son, Augustus, at New College Oxford 'I have been to settle Julius at Cambridge... Mr Hudson, his tutor, assures me that he may live very well upon £160 a year. His business is to study, not to give wine parties, and he is perfectly aware, that if he runs in debt, he will be immediately taken from Cambridge.'<sup>82</sup> Not surprisingly there were those who felt a university town was not the right setting for an ordinand to be prepared for the sacred ministry. Thomas Scott persuaded the Committee of CMS in 1809 not to send Thomas Norton, a candidate accepted for training, to Cambridge as university life was not favourable to the cultivation of the missionary spirit or of missionary habits of life. C.A. Bristed, an American, who entered Trinity College in 1840 has left a detailed account of his impressions in his book Five Years in an English University. He was a very sympathetic observer of university life but

critical of the state of morals and religion among the students, most particularly of their habitual hard drinking and sexual debauchery and this from men who would later be ordained. The attitude of some ordinands to their future work as 'merely a means of support' dismayed him. Despite the many examples of vice round him, he acknowledged:

A young man who enters there and is disposed to find a truly "good set", can find one, or indeed have his choice among several sets of really virtuous and religious men. It was my comfort to know many right worthy of the name of Christians according to the highest standard that was ever lived up to; men of no particular clique or theological school, but holding various opinions and coming from various places and teachers; pupils of Arnold from Rugby; Evangelicals from King's London; other King's College London men of the Eclectic stamp, followers of Professor Maurice...<sup>83</sup>

Many men intending to be ordained did find congenial companions in whose company they grew spiritually and intellectually. A future Archbishop of Canterbury and a future Bishop of Durham in the persons of E.W. Benson and J.B. Lightfoot used to breakfast each Sunday morning together on veal and ham pie. 'After breakfast they read some passages of the Fathers together, and this was my father's first introduction to Cyprian, whose De Unitate they read and discussed.'<sup>84</sup> Part of B.F. Westcott's Sunday evening routine after church was 'to have tea and serious conversation or Greek Testament reading with one of his friends.'<sup>85</sup> F.D. Maurice said of his early years at Cambridge and thinking of men such as John Sterling 'I cannot find any words to explain how much my whole life has been influenced by intercourse with men of my own age there.'<sup>86</sup> The Cambridge Conversazione Society, later called The Apostles as its numbers were limited to twelve, were a gathering of sympathetic souls which began as a set of St John's men in



1820 who wished to write essays and discuss philosophical, theological, political, scientific and literary themes at a weekly meeting. Some of Trinity's most talented men became members and in its golden age it included men of immense talent - F.D. Maurice, R.C. Trench, Connop Thirlwall, and Alfred Tennyson among them. One former member, John Kemble, reminiscing about his years with the Apostles wrote: 'To my education given in that society I feel that I owe every power I possess, and the rescuing myself from a ridiculous state of prejudice and prepossessions with which I came armed to Cambridge. From "the Apostles" I, at least, learned to think as a free man.' <sup>87</sup>

Some groups were short lived as this entry in C.W. Woodhouse's diary reveals:

During this period several of us together lamented the want of theological aid in addition to the Divinity Professor's lectures. After a voluntary meeting five were chosen to draw up rules for a theological reading and perhaps debating society, three of us being B.A.s and two earnest in church matters, one of whom was a late though learned comer to the University. The rules contemplated period meetings at each other's rooms with papers and discussions thereon. We began meeting but were quickly conscious that we ought to have authority for such meetings. We agreed to ask J.J. Smith one of the Tutors of Caius to be president. to this he consented on condition that we should obtain the consent of the Vice-Chancellor to our scheme. Our application to him ended in a negative, this decision, of course, stopped all further meetings. <sup>88</sup>

The picture which has unfolded of theological and ministerial training at Cambridge in the first half of the nineteenth century is not wholly bad despite what contemporary critics said and wrote. There were some able and conscientious teachers and some modest reforms had already taken place before the Royal Commission investigated and made its

recommendations for change. A graduate ordinand in 1850 would have been required by most bishops to have passed the Voluntary Theological Examination - admittedly only a test of very basic theological competence obtained usually after just one term's study - not much but a definite improvement on what had been required from his predecessor in 1800! The University Commissioners commented on it in their report - 'Small, however, as is the amount of theological knowledge which it absolutely requires, we have reason to believe that it has produced a considerable effect upon the state of preparation of the great body of Students who present themselves for Holy Orders.'<sup>89</sup> Evangelical students benefited from the ministry of Charles Simeon and William Carus at Holy Trinity, and in the later period all could have learnt from Professor Blunt's lectures on the work of a priest.

Before looking at how Oxford men fared, let us recall the various suggestions for reform made by Cambridge men during this period -

- a) to increase the amount of Theology taught before the B.A. degree examinations;
- b) to provide a post-graduate course of theological instruction lasting up to one year, followed by an examination and certificate;
- c) to provide a professional education in specific colleges for ordinands in the University;
- d) to create two new Professorships in Biblical Criticism and Ecclesiastical History;
- e) to establish post-graduate theological colleges, preferably attached to a cathedral and with some episcopal contact;
- f) to require after graduation a period of guided reading and practical instruction from suitable parochial clergy.



Connop Thirlwall, later Bishop of St David's, who was one of the university's sharpest critics pinpointed two positive advantages for an ordinand at the university, namely the theological wealth contained in the libraries and secondly 'intercourse with companions of congenial sentiments and pursuits.' These he rated higher than all the lectures and services. This judgement would have been equally true of Oxford.

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- 2 Quarterly Review        Feb 1810 pp, 206-7
- 3 D.A. Winstanley        Unreformed Cambridge pp.53-5
- 4 G. Pryme                Autobiographic Recollections p.92
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- 6 Eubulus                Thoughts on... Academic Education... in Cambridge p.5
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- 9 Philoquantus            A Letter to the Bishop of Bristol p.12
- 10 J. Kaye                Oration quoted in translation from the Latin in an Appendix to a Sermon preached on 31 October 1841 by J. Hildyard, p.26
- 11 ibid
- 12 J. Merivale ed        Autobiography and Letters of Charles Merivale, Dean of Ely pp.75-6
- 13 Eusebius                The Actual State of Clerical Education examined... p.7
- 14 ibid                    p.9
- 15 ibid                    pp.10-11
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- 34 ibid p.26
- 35 W. Whewell Remarks on some parts of Mr Thirlwall's Letter p.20
- 36 R.W. Evans A Statement respecting the Lectures at present given on the Subject of the N.T. in Trinity College Cambridge
- 37 Bodleian Library P. Wynter MS Dep d 5-6 f.111
- 38 Address to the Archbishops and Bishops of the C of E pp. 5-6
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- 66 F.W. Farrar Men I have known p.129
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## OXFORD

'Of all academical institutions, at once the most imperfect and the most perfectible.' Such was the judgement passed on Oxford in 1831 by Sir William Hamilton, Professor of Civil History in the University of Edinburgh. He had himself been a Snell Exhibitioner at Balliol from 1807-10, having first graduated at Glasgow. His criticisms came in two remarkable articles which appeared in the Edinburgh Review in June and December 1831 On the State of the English Universities with special Reference to Oxford. He was particularly critical of the collegiate system with its fellows and tutors which he held largely responsible for why the university accomplished so little when it should have accomplished so much.

'We assert, without fear of contradiction, that, on the average, there is to be found among those to whom Oxford confides the business of education, an infinitely smaller proportion of men of literary reputation than among the actual instructors of any other University in the world.'<sup>2</sup> His well-founded complaint was that teaching was not treated as a serious occupation in the University: 'The fellow who in general undertakes the office (of tutor), and continues the longest to discharge it, is a clerical expectant whose hopes are bounded by a College living; and who, until the wheel of promotion has moved round, is content to relieve the tedium of a leisure life by the interest of an occupation and to improve his income by its emoluments. Thus it is that tuition is not solemnly engaged in as an important, arduous, responsible and permanent occupation, but lightly viewed and undertaken, as a matter of convenience, a business by the by, a state



of transition, a stepping stone to something else; in a word, as a pass-time.'<sup>3</sup> In addition, almost all the fellowships were closed, that is the men were appointed on the basis of some geographical qualification or family connection and not on intellectual ability; only Oriel and Balliol had open fellowships appointed solely on the basis of merit - that is twenty-two out of five hundred and forty-two fellowships.

Hamilton favoured a system of education where professors taught one subject which they knew well rather than by college tutors, each of whom was likely to have to teach every subject though generally not qualified to teach any particular one in depth. In his estimation Oxford offered no more than the preliminary of an academical education. He had been critical of the system even in his undergraduate days as this extract from a letter to his mother in 1807 reveals: 'I am so plagued by these foolish lectures of the College tutors that I have little time to do anything else - Aristotle today, ditto tomorrow; and I believe that if the ideas furnished by Aristotle to these numbskulls were taken away, it would be doubtful whether there remained a single notion. I am quite tired of such uniformity of study.'<sup>4</sup> The University came under attack for its curriculum in 1810 in the pages of the Edinburgh Review. At that time an undergraduate was examined for his degree in certain Greek and Latin books, chosen by him from an extensive list, in logic, elementary mathematics and physics and the rudiments of the Christian religion. Edward Copleston, a Fellow of Oriel and later its Provost, published A Reply to the Calumnies of the Edinburgh Review against Oxford, Containing an Account of Studies pursued at that University in which he defended the liberal education

offered there - 'a cultivation of mind, which is itself a good; a good of the highest order'.

A contemporary of Hamilton's at Oxford was Henry Hart Milman, a future Dean of St Paul's, and equally critical of his tutors at Brasenose College whom he described to his parents in 1810 as 'One can lecture and never does, another cannot and always does, the third neither can nor does.'<sup>5</sup> This didn't prevent him gaining first class honours in classics. There was a fourth category of tutor - those who could and did. Such was Daniel Wilson, later to become Bishop of Calcutta, who in 1804 became Assistant Tutor at St Edmund's Hall and in 1807 Tutor and Vice-Principal. A letter written to a friend in 1807, however, from Worton where he was also Curate shows how even the most conscientious and able of tutors became frustrated by all the demands made on their time:

You will easily understand how much I am engaged, when I tell you that this next term I have to lecture on Aristotle and the tragedies of Aeschylus; that the New Testament has to be critically and copiously dealt with, and Aldrich's Ars logica to be entered on. I will do what I can. If I cannot do for my pupils all that my wishes and the duties of my office require, yet nothing shall be wanting that goodwill, kindness, and careful study can accomplish. It seems to me that my main object must be so to instruct them in the saving knowledge of God, and so imbue their minds (as much as in me lies) with true piety, that, however little they may profit by me in secular matters, they may nevertheless learn to love God, to believe in Christ, to despise and reject the vain traditions and fancies of men, to estimate aright the value of the soul, and to know and be ready to proclaim the excellent glory of the Cross. If they know and understand these things savingly and experientially they know all.<sup>6</sup>

During his time as tutor, the records show that 'Teddyites' as they



were then nicknamed achieved high honours academically. His biographer (his son-in-law) claimed the Hall flourished and that he 'led many young men to a saving knowledge of the truth, and a glad entrance into the ministry.'<sup>7</sup> He was followed by an equally conscientious Evangelical tutor, the Rev John Hill, whose diaries cover the period 1802 - 51 and provide much detail and colour for our picture of University life at that time. He too felt the pressure of having to lecture in so many different subjects - he noted in his diary on 13 December 1820:

Closed my lectures on the Epistle to the Hebrews, and with this day's lectures closed the business of the term. Being unprepared with the remaining Epistles I shall be under necessity of commencing the New Testament next term. I am thankful to see a very attentive audience at these lectures. May the God of Grace seal them with his blessing to those who hear them. I have this term had a class in Thucydides who have read the first Book, another in Homer's *Iliad* who have gone through the first three books. And a third in Logic: most of whom have been attentive and endeavoured to understand the science. On Fridays instead of the Greek Books we read Horace. The residents this term have been twenty six, besides the occasional residents for degrees etc.<sup>8</sup>

In the following term, he had a class in algebra 'of whom one or two attended, but most showed sad reluctance and dislike to the study.'

In 1832 a brilliant and keen student matriculated at Oriel, Mark Pattison later Rector of Lincoln College. He arrived in Oxford with high expectations of his tutors and fellow students:

I was soon disillusioned. I found lectures regarded as a joke or a bore, contemned by the more advanced, shirked by the backward; Latin and Greek regarded as useless, except for the purpose of getting a degree; and as for modern literature, the very idea of its existence had never dawned upon these youths, none of whom knew any language but English. Such was my simplicity that I had believed no one went

to college but those who were qualified and anxious to study.<sup>9</sup>

Reading his description of a typical lecture makes Hamilton's criticisms of the college tutorial system understandable and justified: A college lecture in those days meant the class construing, in turn, some twenty lines of a classical text to the tutor, who corrected you when you were wrong. Of the value as intellectual gymnastics of these exercise there can be no question; the failure as education lay in the circumstances, that this one exercise was about the whole of what our teachers ever attempted to do for us... The tutors of each college taught everything that was taught in college to all its students. Under this monstrous abuse... a zealous tutor was entirely baffled as to what course to take; if he wanted to make a good lecture on any one classical book, say, Heroditus, he must devote an amount of time to his preparation for it which was quite inconsistent with his also doing well the other lectures he had to give - looking over Latin writing, teaching English composition, seeing that men knew their divinity, and the vague but heavy duties of personal inspection and advice.<sup>10</sup>

When Pattison joined the senior common room at Lincoln in 1839, a college where the sons of clergy predominated (151 out of the 189 graduates between 1801-50), he wrote of them - 'The corporeal stature of the fellows is large, their intellectual small, the studies and thoughts of the older ones are rather of the good old days of "Tory ascendancy" than of the reform era... They are of the Port and Prejudice school, better read in Hawker on Shooting, Burn's Justice or "Every Man his own Butler" than in Hooker or St Augustine.' '' In October 1842 he was made a tutor and under his guidance the academic record of the college rose. In the same year W.C. Lake became one of the tutors at Balliol and during his time more than half the high honours of each year went to Balliol men. His biographer said of his



work: 'He took a somewhat new view of the duties owed by a Tutor to his pupils, lived familiarly with them, devoted almost his whole time to their instruction, and conciliated their affections in a marked way. His ideas on the subject, shared by some of his colleagues, and by several of his most intimate out-college friends, gave a new tone to the relations between teacher and taught, and to a certain not inconsiderable extent changed the conditions of Oxford University life.'<sup>12</sup>

The published memoirs of Oxford men during the first half of the century show how very variable was the standard of tuition and pastoral care between the several colleges and from decade to decade within the same college, though the men of Balliol and Oriel seem to have fared better than most at any time. Sir James Graham who was at Christ Church from 1810-12 said of his time there, 'I was never once called upon to attend any lectures either upon theology or divinity; I never received any religious instruction whatever, apart from that which I derived from enforced attendance at chapel, and I am ashamed to say that I never during the whole period of my residence heard a single sermon.'<sup>13</sup> From his biography it would seem Sir James did not exert himself to gain any kind of instruction let alone religious during his two years at the University! Christ Church's record was not good at this period but it did produce two notable religious teachers in the 1820s in the persons of Charles Lloyd and Edward Burton. Another Christ Church man, Frederick Oakeley, wrote:

I do not remember that the idea of religion as a practical rule of life was ever suggested to me while I was at Christ Church, although dissuasions from immorality in one shape or another were occasionally put before me by those who had authority over me. More than this was

certainly done in other colleges; for I remember that a friend of mine who was at Oriel used to tell me how great an impression had been made upon him by his excellent tutor Hawkins, the present Provost, in the course of walks which he had been asked to take with him. At Christ Church the only way in which religion, as such, was put before us was in the public prayers of the college, than which nothing could well have been more adverse to its proper influence.'<sup>4</sup>

Oakeley became a fellow of Balliol and was able to compare at first hand the two communities; he records that at Balliol 'the tutors looked upon the relation to their pupils as involving more or less of a spiritual responsibility.' One of Oakeley's contemporaries at Christ Church was Edward Pusey who held his tutor there, the Rev Thomas Vowler Short, in high esteem for 'his earnest practical teaching and religious instruction.'

John Keble was appointed tutor at Oriel in 1818. As an undergraduate in Corpus Christi College where there were seldom more than twenty students under college tuition, he had enjoyed more individual attention than was the norm in the University. He determined to be a pastor to the men now under his tuition. He wrote to J.T. Coleridge in January 1818:

I thought at first it would be a very uncomfortable thing to me to give up my Cure, and become an Academic again; but I get more and more reconciled to it every day. You consider Tuition as a species of pastoral care, do you not? otherwise it might seem questionable, whether a clergyman ought to leave a cure of souls for it. And yet there are some people at Oxford who seem to imagine that College Tutors have nothing to do with the morale. If I thought so, I would never undertake the office; but I feel some difficulty in settling myself beforehand, how far one ought to carry one's interference with the general conduct of a pupil; probably it is impossible to draw a precise line.'<sup>5</sup>



Isaac Williams must have been just one of very many influenced for good by this particular tutor. He wrote Keble's 'real genuine love in thought, word and action, was quite new to me, I could scarcely understand it... this opened upon me quite a new world. Religion a reality, and a man wholly made up of love, with charms of conversation, thought, and kindness, beyond what one had experienced among boyish companions, - this broke in upon me all at once.'<sup>16</sup>

Three other Oriel tutors held similar views and attempted to change the system of tuition in their college. They were John Henry Newman, Hurrell Froude and Robert Wilberforce who had become tutors in 1826 and 1827. The reforms they initiated in the Lent Term 1829 consisted of alterations to the timetable which allowed them much fuller supervision, academically and pastorally, of their pupils; in Newman's own words 'the bad men are thrown into large classes, and thus time saved for the better sort, who are put into very small lectures, and principally with their own tutors quite familiarly and chatingly.'<sup>17</sup> To Newman a tutorship was a cure of souls. He wrote in his private journal:

There is much in the system which I think wrong. I think the tutors see too little of the men, and there is not enough of direct religious instruction. It is my wish to consider myself as the minister of Christ.<sup>18</sup>

Tom Mozley felt the three were in some respects prophetic as they were asking for subjects rather than particular books, for properly composed classes and for the fittest men to teach each class.<sup>19</sup> The Provost was not informed about the changes and discovered them by accident. He was neither pleased by their actions nor persuaded by their arguments and in June 1830 played his trump card by cutting off

any future supply of pupils to the three tutors who all accordingly resigned.

The Provost involved in this dispute was Edward Hawkins whom Newman had assisted at St Mary's. He was noted for the care and consideration he showed to the younger members of his college, e.g. before admitting a freshman to Holy Communion he interviewed each one. R.G. Livingstone has left this account:

He asked me whether I had been confirmed? who had prepared me for Confirmation? and if I knew what work was the basis of the lectures on Confirmation which I had attended? I happened to be aware that Secker's Lectures were largely used by the Head Master at Rossall, and I had subsequently read them myself. "Didn't you think it a very dry book?" - to which I readily replied in the affirmative. He further questioned me in order to ascertain if I understood the nature of the Ordinance and the obligations therewith connected. This was his invariable practice with freshmen.<sup>20</sup>

In 1831 Mark Pattison matriculated at Oriel; for a while he was strongly attached to Newman and a supporter of the Tractarian movement but in his Memoirs, written half a century later from a different religious standpoint, was severely critical of the changes which he believed the three tutors had tried to bring about:

Religion was evidently to Newman, in 1830, not only the first but the sole object of all teachings... These teachers of the classics had sided with the enemies of humanism. Greek was useful as enabling you to read the Greek Testament or the Fathers. All knowledge was to be subservient to the interests of religion, for which vague idea was afterwards substituted the definite and concrete idea of the Visible Church... In the hands of the three tutors, all of them priests, narrow and desperate devotees of the clerical interest, the college must have become a seminary in which the pupils should be trained for church ends, and broken in, like the students of a Jesuit college, to regard the dictates of the confessor and the interests of



the clergy as the supreme law of life. Religion is a good servant but a bad master.<sup>21</sup>

Yet Pattison at the end of his life acknowledged his great debt to Newman - 'I can truly say that I have learnt more from you than from any one else with whom I have ever been in contact.'<sup>22</sup>

One of the three, Hurrell Froude, found in fact that he had little time for pastoral oversight of students when he was first appointed in 1827; this was because of the heavy teaching programme forced on him and other tutors by Newman being Examiner in the schools. He complained he had to give 'lectures in three successive classes from 10 till 1 one day, and from 11 till 2 the other, which lectures I have to learn beforehand myself much more carefully than anyone I am to teach need do, and... after next Tuesday I shall have to attend the Bishop of Oxford's lectures as a pupil myself, and besides this I have a private pupil of my own who has a right to demand an hour of me every evening, but this he has not yet exacted.'<sup>23</sup>

The Bishop referred to by Froude was Charles Lloyd who had become Regius Professor of Divinity in 1822 and Bishop of Oxford in 1827, both appointments secured with the help of his former pupil at Christ Church, Robert Peel. For a hundred years, successive professors had given little beyond the short statutory course of lectures, attendance at which was the Church's sole meagre requirement beyond the BA for ordinands. One of the several proposals for reform made by Vicesimus Knox in a letter to the Chancellor of the University in 1789 had been 'That all the public professors, but especially the king's, who are paid by the public, should read lectures three times a week in every term; and that when superannuated or disinclined to read, they should

resign on a pension, or appoint a substitute, approved by the University, who should succeed them at their decease, if no valid objection should appear.'<sup>24</sup> Lloyd took his ministry as a teacher seriously and he successfully introduced a course for graduates which attracted a loyal following including future Tractarian leaders such as Newman.

In a letter to Peel dated 28 February 1826 and marked 'Most Private' Lloyd set out his arguments for why he (and not Copleston who was a likely candidate) should be given the See of Oxford. He claimed for himself, truthfully, if immodestly:

I am working day and night in my Professorship, no man ever did what I am doing, or the tenth part of it... I will conclude by telling you my own real wishes about myself. My anxious desire is to make myself a great Divine and to be accounted the best in England. My second wish is to become the founder of a School of Theology at Oxford. For the accomplishment of these purposes, I must remain some years longer here, say ten years from the time of my appointment to the Professorship. I shall by that time, working as I do now, have laid a strong foundation, upon which any man may build a lasting superstructure. Now, no Bishopric will enable me to do this, except the See of Oxford. Any other will carry me gradually away from the University.<sup>25</sup>

Just as he benefited from Peel's friendship and patronage, so too he used his influence for the benefit of those he favoured, among them Pusey whom he helped be appointed Regius Professor of Hebrew and Edward Burton, his chaplain, whom he groomed as his successor.

In theory the Regius Professor of Divinity lectured every Monday and Friday at 9a.m. in the School of Divinity expounding some part of Scripture and the Lady Margaret Professor likewise on Tuesdays and Thursdays. Lloyd's biographer, W.J. Baker, claims that he transformed



the teaching of theology in the seven years that he held the professorship until his death in 1829:

Commencing in the spring of 1823, Lloyd explained that his purpose was to "begin at once to furnish the student with rules (i.e. principles) for conducting his theological enquiries." He distributed the customary reading list, then plunged into a lecture on the Old Testament. Subsequent lectures were on the New Testament, early ecclesiastical history, atheism, deism, natural and philosophical "evidences of Christian religion", and "controversial divinity" (Arianism, Socinianism and Unitarianism). The term was ended with two sessions devoted to the Protestant Reformation. Each year the lectures were revised and new topics were added as some were deleted, and the sequence was shuffled. Occasionally an entire term was given to a single Biblical or historical topic.<sup>26</sup>

Lloyd was also keen to remedy his ignorance of what German scholars were doing, and so when he encouraged Pusey to make a second visit to Germany in 1826 he asked him to gather information on the modern German commentators on St Paul's Epistles.

Frederick Oakeley was one of those who attended what he called 'Lloyd's celebrated private Divinity lectures. Thither repaired all the elite of graduate Oxford - Pusey, Newman, Edward Denison, Froude, Robert Wilberforce, William Churton, Moberley, and about twenty or thirty more. Lloyd was the very Prince of college lecturers - a master in the art in which I have known so many failures.'<sup>27</sup> Froude in a letter to his father written in 1826 confirms this description - 'Most of the class are firsts and double firsts. The greater part of them are masters of arts, and a pro-proctor contributes his dignity to the honours of the august assembly.'<sup>28</sup> Their separate descriptions of how Lloyd conducted the class agree in every detail -

We, about twenty fellows,, sit all about in his library, which is a

very large room, and he walks up and down in the middle; sometimes taking his station before one fellow and sometimes before another asking them questions quite abruptly to catch them being inattentive, and amusing himself with kicking their shins. When any fellow happens to make a silly remark he laughs at him without scruple and exposes him in the most ludicrous way, but so very good naturedly that it is impossible to be the least offended. Sometimes he pulls the ears of the men he is very intimate with.<sup>29</sup>

Oakeley claims that far from offending them by such liberties, they 'were received as the greatest of all possible compliments, inasmuch as they were rightly understood to be proof of his especial confidence and regard.'<sup>30</sup>

Lloyd gave fresh life and vigour to the public lectures and inspired many of those who stayed on at the university after graduation in their further theological studies but not everyone was so enthusiastic about him. Tom Mozley in his Reminiscences. Chiefly of Oriel College and the Oxford Movement wrote:

There was then hardly such a thing as Biblical scholarship in the university. Of course it could have no place in the much crowded, much circumscribed preparation for the schools. Our Oriel tutors gave exceptional attention to our New Testament lectures but these consisted almost entirely in our construing the original and having occasionally to be corrected in some point of mere scholarship... The Regius Professors of Divinity did their best to revive theological studies but when Lloyd collected a private class it was to study the history and original sources of our Prayer Book, and when Burton took his place in that practice it was to study Eusebius and the primitive Church.<sup>31</sup>

Whatever his shortcomings, Lloyd was undoubtedly a vast improvement on his predecessor at the beginning of the century, Dr Randolph who held the office from 1783-1807. G.V. Cox in his Recollections of Oxford



described Randolph's teaching as follows:

These lectures were given late in the evening, by candlelight; one effect of this was, that many of the class slept through the lecture, waking up now and then at the sound of a Greek quotation... The lecture was neither accompanied nor followed by any questioning or examination. The only things really carried away by the majority of the class were the Syllabus, given to each one at the commencement of the course, and a formidable printed list of authors recommended for future reading, presented at the close of the lectures.<sup>32</sup>

Van Mildert held the chair from 1813-20. His biographer claims that his public lectures attracted many and that 'the hearers were always remarkably numerous and attentive, and departed with expressions of satisfaction.'<sup>33</sup> This doesn't really say anything about him as a theologian or teacher for as most bishops required a certificate from the Regius Professor indicating that a candidate for Orders had attended his lectures satisfactorily, an audience for them was guaranteed. Sadly attendance at the lectures and not understanding was the key to obtaining the necessary certificate.

As at Cambridge, where we have noted the flow of criticisms and proposals for reform, so too at Oxford critics offered their solutions. Two years after Lloyd's appointment as Regius Professor a knowledgeable critic of the educational system published some major proposals for reform of the training of ordinands. He recommended:

that a certain number of colleges in both universities be set apart, for the sole and exclusive education of the clergy; that in such colleges, while every due care and encouragement be given to classical and mathematical learning, paramount attention be paid to all those studies, more strictly and immediately tending to promote attainments, and frame and encourage a conduct, suitable to the Christian priesthood; that an appropriate academical dress be assigned (resuming the discarded bands), which on no occasion is to

be laid aside: that a distinct and professional examination be held for ecclesiastical degrees: and above all, that a strict yet liberal discipline be enforced, to discourage every expensive and luxurious habits: - every propensity towards those guilty and ruinous excesses, which, before God and the world, they will erewhile engage for ever to abandon.<sup>34</sup>

He quoted with approval the example of the theological seminary of the Protestant Episcopal Church in North America as a suitable model for the Church colleges he wished to see established for English ordinands. He was also complimentary about the pioneering work of a certain Rev Dr Burrow at Epping in training graduates, though he felt such an important task should not be left to private enterprise.

On 2 January 1831 the Rev W. Sibthorpe Cole, Curate of St Margaret's at Cliffe, preached two sermons in the University Church On the Importance of making some Provision for the Instruction of the Junior Members of the University, who are intended for Holy Orders, in the Duties of the Pastoral Office. 'It may, I think, be said without fear of contradiction, that a large proportion of the candidates for ordination, from time to time, who have been educated in this place, have been in possession of no inconsiderable fund of classical knowledge, and of sound biblical learning; but few, very few, at the period of their admission into the sacred office, were at all aware of the difficulties with which they would have to grapple in the faithful discharge of their parochial duties.'<sup>35</sup> His favourable judgement on the classical and biblical learning of Oxford graduates is too generous a compliment when it is remembered that most of them had taken only a pass degree, but he was certainly right in his judgement that the University offered no training in pastoral visiting. 'They cannot teach



him how he is to rouse the careless, reclaim the sinful, reprove the daring, instruct the ignorant, or confirm the irresolute; neither, on the other hand, can they qualify him for the task of encouraging the weak, cheering the disquieted, comforting the mourner, soothing the afflicted, and binding up the wounds of the broken-hearted.'<sup>36</sup>

He acknowledged that the University was not designed specifically for the education of individuals in their respective professions and so his proposals for reform were very modest urging that college sermons could be used as a form of training - 'by the intermixture of practical remarks with the usual explanations which are given at a theological lecture - by the introduction of works, treating of these subjects, amongst the junior members of this community, in which they should be required to be competently versed at the terminal examinations.'<sup>37</sup>

A much more formidable critic was Pusey, the Regius Professor of Hebrew, who in a pamphlet entitled Remarks on the Prospective and Past Benefits of Cathedral Institutions, published at the beginning of 1833, not only pinpointed the weaknesses in the theological education at Oxford but also proposed a realistic remedy. His pamphlet was a response to Lord Henley's Plan of Church Reform published in 1832 which led the attack on cathedrals and their immense wealth vested in property. The solution Pusey offered lay in the renewal of cathedrals as centres of theological learning. The great weakness of Oxford and Cambridge he believed was in the absence of any specific training for ordinands. 'One fortnight now comprises the beginning and the end of all the public instruction which any candidate for holy orders is required to attend previously to entering upon his profession. The majority confine their preparation to the private and unaided study of

such books as the Bishop or the Professor, or some other older clerical friend may recommend.'<sup>38</sup> He suggested the length of theological training for graduates should be two years and that facilities for some nine hundred students should be spread round twelve of the cathedrals. Each would provide five professors from the cathedral staff offering instruction in every branch of theology, and a parish in the town with an experienced minister should give instruction in pastoral work. Bishop Van Mildert and the Dean and Chapter of Durham Cathedral had already taken the decision to found a university with the needs of ordinands in mind when Pusey wrote his pamphlet. Bishop Phillpotts of Exeter in a charge to his clergy in August of that year took up Pusey's suggestion and expressed the hope that a 'School of Theology' might be attached to the cathedral at Exeter at which candidates for Orders would be expected to reside for one or two years after graduation 'under the immediate eye of the Bishop'.

1834 saw the public debate and pamphlet war on the subject of university reform and more particularly the admission of Dissenters, with many pamphlets written by Oxford men - among them Hampden, Marriott, Maurice, Moberly and Sewell. Richard Whateley, a former Fellow of Oriel and Principal of St Alban's Hall and now Archbishop of Dublin, wrote to Earl Grey in July 1834 in support of reform:

Ask the heads of houses, how many of them give lectures themselves in the XXXIX Articles, to all their men; whether they take care that every one of their men has from three to six divinity lectures every week; whether every member is examined (before the head) in Divinity at the end of each term, for at least the last five or six terms before his becoming a candidate for the degree of BA; and I think your lordship will not find many who can answer these questions in the affirmative as I could. I might even point out colleges from



which men have been permitted to offer themselves at the public examinations for degrees, without having ever had any one college lecture in Divinity, from first to last! My plan was to trust more to instruction, and less to subscription.<sup>39</sup>

Sir William Hamilton joined in this debate through an article in the Edinburgh Review in October 1834 On the Right of Dissenters to Admission into the English Universities. He argued that if there had been a proper faculty of theology teaching the doctrines of the Established Church, this would not necessarily have constituted a problem for Dissenters as only those intending to be ordained need attend its instruction - but such was not the case:

Nay, to the ineffable disgrace of the establishment and universities, so far are Oxford and Cambridge from being pre-eminently religious schools, that the Anglican is the one example in Christendom of a Church, whose members are not prepared for their holy calling, by an academic course of education in the different branches of theology; and the English are the only Universities in the world, in which such a course cannot actually be obtained.<sup>40</sup>

He quoted slightly Professor Pusey's admission that a fortnight's instruction was all that an ordinand was required to attend.

One of the many pamphlets published about this issue came from the pen of the Rev George Moberly, a Fellow and Tutor of Balliol, who insisted strongly that his college took its religious responsibilities very seriously. What he described may be taken as an example of best practice:

In the College to which I belong, the Lectures of two days in the week are devoted, almost exclusively, to Theology. In the course of the first year and a half each Undergraduate reads, at these lectures, the Four Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles in Greek, and Paley's Horae Paulinae; then a Term is occupied with Paley's Evidences, or Bishop Pearson On the Creed, or Bishop Jewell's

Apology and the last year is devoted to the XXXIX Articles. It must be observed that these Lectures are not mere readings by the Lecturer, at which any person of any opinion may attend, may approve or disapprove in silence, and go away unquestioned. They are conducted by continual examination and exposition; questions are asked by the pupils in case any difficulty arises on which they desire to be satisfied; and answers are constantly required from them, in order to show that they understand and remember what they have already heard. Besides these private Lectures, a weekly Lecture is delivered on Sunday evenings in the College Chapel. The subjects to be treated by the Lecturer are fixed by the founder Dr Busby, and comprehend the doctrines of the Church of England as contained in her formularies. In the course of each week, answers to questions founded upon the previous Lecture are written by Undergraduates of less than two years standing. Also in each Term a written exercise is appointed, consisting of the abridgement of some of the historical books of the Old Testament. These exercises are so arranged, that in the course of about two years, each Undergraduate abridges the whole of the historical books from Genesis to Nehemiah. At the examination at the end of each Term. this portion of Old Testament History, the Catechetical Lectures of the Term, and the Lectures given in the Tutor's room, form the subjects of questions *viva voce*. This course of theological reading with an examination at entrance in the contents of the Gospels, and the doctrines of the Catechism; and the public examinations for the Degree (which comprehend the history of the Old and New Testaments, the contents of the Gospels, the Evidences of Christianity, and the XXXIX Articles) form the religious part of the University education of every Undergraduate at this College. To this it is to be added, that he is expected to attend daily Prayers in the College Chapel, and to appear at the Sacrament three times in a year.<sup>41</sup>

Bishop Edward Maltby of Chichester in a Charge delivered in May 1834 recommended that Dissenters should be admitted to degrees in all faculties except theology:

In some respects both might be benefited, as a separate examination



might be instituted for students in Theology, which would prepare them much more suitably, than they are in general now prepared, for admission into holy orders. My notion is shortly this: and it is not one, which I have taken up as an expedient for getting rid of present difficulties, but which I have entertained after long and serious consideration. Instead of admission to the degree of A.B. in the January Term, it might take place in the June preceding. Then, such young men, as are looking forward to lay professions and employments, might betake themselves without loss of time to their destined occupations; while such, as were intended for the ministry, should have a course of study laid down, to which they might apply themselves diligently till the ensuing spring or summer. They should then repair to their respective universities, and there undergo an examination. Unless they acquit themselves to the satisfaction of the examiners, no college testimonials for orders should be granted, nor should they be permitted to appear as candidates before any Bishop.<sup>42</sup>

What he explicitly intended was a 'purely professional examination in the university for holy orders.'<sup>43</sup>

Something of this kind was also in the Archbishop of Canterbury's mind. In correspondence with Gaisford the Dean of Christ Church in October 1840 he wrote:

I entirely agree with you in respect of the necessity of providing a more distinct and professional education for clerical students than is now obtained in the Universities. I can see no other mode of qualifying the clergy in general for the discharge of their professional duties. Many of them at present enter the Church with very little knowledge of what they are required to do, very little of the nature of their office, or the truths which they are required to teach, and hardly any power of composition or elocution. Some years ago I had formed a plan for the remedy of this evil, and I communicated my notions to several persons but at the time when I was on the point of proposing it, my proceedings were stopped by the death of Dr Burton [d.1836], who, I believe, would have been ready to cooperate in the promotion of my views. My general idea was taken

from the practice of the Navy, in which no one can receive a lieutenant's commission without passing an examination before a regular board and being reported fit. My proposal went to the establishment of similar boards composed of members of the two Universities without whose certificate of fitness, confirmed by a quasi-degree of the University no one would be entitled to appear before the Bishop as a candidate for Holy Orders.<sup>44</sup>

In 1837 a private individual wishing to improve the vocational training of ordinands in the University offered to found a chair for liturgical studies, the first holder to be the Rev William Palmer of Worcester College, but the Hebdomadal Board rejected the offer as it did not wish to have another Tractarian in such a position. In June 1840 the Prime Minister opened up the possibility of strengthening the divinity faculty in connection with the re-organisation of the Christ Church Chapter, offering a canonry to the Lady Margaret Professor and two more to be annexed to new chairs of ecclesiastical history and biblical criticism.

The Dean of Christ Church, Thomas Gaisford, took this up with the Archbishop of Canterbury William Howley, reacting also to a printed circular which had gone round the University at the end of August 'urging the propriety and indeed the necessity of devising some means for the promotion of a more distinct and professional mode of education for clerical students in the universities'<sup>45</sup> When Gaisford wrote to the Archbishop in September he was against lessening the time or materially altering the exercises for the degree of BA. He proposed rather the creation of 'a new quasi-degree' with the title of 'candidatus' awarded in their fifth year at the University after due attendance on the lectures of the professors. Gaisford was keen to



seize the initiative created by the Crown's willingness to create two new posts and thus enlarge the divinity faculty but was concerned the new professors should tackle their teaching in a more efficient way than did the existing ones:

In my opinion the generally received mode of professorial lecturing is highly defective. Without previous study on the part of the pupil, without questioning on the part of the professor, the former will derive small profit from the dictata of his master, the latter will never be acquainted with the progress of his class. It remains to be seen whether a remedy can be devised to cure this evil. I think there can. First then, let the Professors make up their minds to devote themselves totally to their classes for five or six months in each year. The present courses are too short to be of any real service. Secondly, let them so arrange their classes as never to have in the room at one time more than a limited number of scholars, that they may be enabled to form a personal acquaintance with each of them. Thirdly, let them direct their classes previous to each meeting to peruse some treatise or portion of a book which treats of the subject of the ensuing lecture - in other words let some text books be always used, on which the Professor may found his observations. Fourthly, at the commencement of each lecture let the scholars be questioned in turn upon the particulars of the preceding lecture. Fifthly, let them be required to produce in a paper book a precis of the professor's dictata, which written book should be from time to time examined by the professor. Sixthly, at the close of each year, or oftener, let the pupils be subjected to an examination in the matter of the lectures by the board of professors and in the presence of each other.<sup>46</sup>

What Gaisford was advocating for the new professors was the existing practice in the best colleges. He favoured a chair in ecclesiastical history but felt the task of biblical criticism could well be done by the Regius Professors of Hebrew and Greek. Howley concurred in this and said 'As my views are in a great measure practical, I should like a

Professorship for the instruction of the young men in their professional duties as parish priests, in which many of them are sadly deficient when they enter first on the field of their labours, and often remain so through life.'<sup>47</sup>

Dean Gaisford saw problems with this:

Your Grace is anxious that the young Clergy should be instructed practically in the duties they will have to perform. Most undoubtedly such an education will be highly conducive to the welfare of the Church. And yet I very much doubt whether the University is the place where to any great extent such instruction can be obtained. The duties of a parish priest being twofold, the ministrations within the walls of the church, and two, those without it. As to the former, namely the reading and right understanding of the liturgy with the rubrics, as well as the delivery and composition of sermons and the like, I think we are competent to afford all the instruction that is wanted, and the sooner this is put in hand the better. But we have hardly the means within the University for making the student acquainted with the details of external parochial duties. These I conceive the deacon would best learn under the direction of an experienced incumbent - and it were much to be wished that persons, especially those who are to be admitted to the charge of populous livings, should have served a reasonable time as curates under the control of an elder resident pastor.<sup>48</sup>

The Hebdomadal Board appointed a committee to consider the promotion of some change in the studies of divinity. The Archbishop drew Gaisford's attention to Charles Perry's pamphlet published at this time which the Dean reported was widely read at Oxford. Perry's proposals and the thinking of the Oxford committee were similar, he said. The committee's plan with some slight alterations was approved by the Board of Heads in the Easter Term 1841 and in the autumn of that year the Archbishop raised the matter of the two new appointments with Sir



Robert Peel. The University authorities were willing to provide a provisional endowment of £300 a year for each post until the canonries at Christ Church became vacant. Peel replied to the Archbishop on 27 November 1841 desiring that the bishops should have a common understanding and a common course of proceeding in respect of candidates for Holy Orders - 'If Attendance at the Lectures of the new Professors and a successful examination in Divinity under the new system shall be considered by all the Prelates indispensable Requisites for Holy Orders in the case of Oxford Candidates, this will be a most material encouragement to the general adoption of that System. But will anything short of this suffice?'<sup>49</sup> Peel was also concerned that the qualifications for Holy Orders should be the same for men from both universities.

In his reply Archbishop Howley on behalf of the University pressed that the Government should make the two appointments at once:

When this has been done the Bishops will of course be consulted as to the degree and the manner in which they may think it advisable to countenance the system of instruction, which after consulting with them may be finally resolved on; and it should certainly advise them not to establish too rigid a rule in the first instance. This too will be the proper season for communicating with the University of Cambridge with a view to proceeding on a common principle... In respect to the wishes of the Heads of Houses at Oxford the points which the Government would have to consider may I think be reduced to these. 1. The immediate establishment of the two Professorships instead of waiting for vacancies at Christ Church. 2. The selection of Professors a matter of delicacy and difficulty under existing circumstances. 3. The particular designation of the Professors whether Ecclesiastical History, Biblical Criticism or Pastoral Divinity. I look upon some speedy proceeding in this matter as of the greatest importance to the Church, in respect both to position,

advantage and to the prevention of evils which must be expected from the establishment of private and party schools of Divinity if nothing is done at the Universities. And I ought perhaps to say that I think the importance of Pastoral Divinity is beyond all comparison greater than that of Biblical Criticism.<sup>50</sup>

It seems from the Archbishop's reply that the bishops had not as yet come to a common mind on what should be expected of candidates from the universities, and rather than taking an initiative themselves were leaving it to the university authorities to settle the curriculum for the training. His fears about the selection of suitable men was undoubtedly a reaction to all the trouble which had accompanied the appointment of the liberal theologian R.D. Hampden as a Regius Professor at Oxford and to the heat generated there by the leading Tractarians. In due course, on the Archbishop's recommendation, the Crown appointed the Rev C.A. Ogilvie of Balliol College as Professor of Pastoral Theology and the Rev R. Hussey of Christ Church Professor of Ecclesiastical History. The 1843 University Calendar described Ogilvie's task as 'comprehending instruction in Ministerial duties, composition and delivery of Sermons, Knowledge and History of Liturgies, Rubrics and the like.' Convocation ratified the Statute on theological instruction proposed to them by the Heads of House. The avowed aim of the Statute was the improvement of the education of candidates for Holy Orders and an examination was instituted, to be held once a year, open to all Bachelors of Arts under the standing of MA. As it was not obligatory and a longer stay at the university meant added expense, few students were likely to take it. William Ince, the Regius Professor of Divinity, in his inaugural lecture in 1878 described this purely voluntary examination as an 'utter failure'. If



the register had been correctly kept, he asserted, the total number who passed it between 1844 and 1863 was only seven!<sup>51</sup>

The Bishop of Exeter, in his Visitation Charge of 1842, welcomed the new appointments at Oxford and stated that he would require, as a general rule, from all Oxford graduates seeking ordination in his diocese the certificates of the new courses of study and would make similar demands on candidates from Cambridge University.<sup>52</sup>

Francis Newman, the brother of John Henry and a former Fellow of Balliol, writing in 1843 called the two new appointments 'sham reforms' designed to pacify the University's conscience when much more radical reforms in the method of teaching and in the curriculum were needed:

The recent foundation of two new Professorships in Pastoral Theology and in Ecclesiastical History, - shows that Oxford is awakening to a sense that Theology has been neglected; and there are analogous phenomena at Cambridge. But the experience of the past sufficiently proves, that, in and by itself, the foundation of Professorships is absolutely useless. Able men may accept the appointments, but the difficulty is, to get fixed, persevering and energetic classes of pupils. As long as the Public Examinations are so constructed, that students must undergo the Classical (or Mathematical) examination, and either need not or cannot be examined in other branches; those other branches will be neglected.<sup>53</sup>

If the memories of Samuel Reynolds Hole, Dean of Rochester, are accurate there was no immediate improvement brought about by the appointments and the new Statute. He was an undergraduate at Brasenose College from 1840-44 and comments on his time at Oxford: 'As for the realization and promotion of the sacred purposes for which the University was designed, for which the founders built and the

benefactors endowed its colleges and halls, it would be a false compliment to speak of failure, because failure implies effort, and no effort worthy of that name was made by our rulers in my day.'<sup>54</sup> Sadly, he records details of the disinclination and inability of college tutors to help undergraduates even when they came asking for help.

F. Meyrick came to Oxford in January 1844 and between the time of his election to a fellowship at Trinity College and his appointment as tutor, that is from 1847-51, he had some leisure which he devoted to theology:

For this purpose I attended the lectures of Robert Hussey, the Regius Professor of Ecclesiastical History, on Eusebius and Socrates and Bede, and of William Jacobson, Regius Professor of Divinity, on Annobius and Lactantius, as well as the latter's public lectures, at which all candidates for ordination had to be present. Professor Hussey was a learned and grave divine, very seldom seen to smile, devoted to his work of teaching and of study, and bearing the reputation of great firmness and imperturbability. A myth about him was current in the University, that a surgeon telling him that one of his toes must be cut off, he replied: "Very well, cut it off; but be good enough not to disturb me by any remarks while you do it, as I have to prepare my lecture."<sup>55</sup>

Meyrick was less critical of his tutors than some; the Senior Tutor at Trinity was the Rev Thomas Short whom he described as a genial High Churchman of the old school. He was regular in his life, never failing to attend college chapel on weekdays... Austerity was a quality which men of Short's school either professed or inculcated. They liked their two glasses of port after dinner - seldom more, never in excess - and their game at whist with sixpenny points. And in dealing with undergraduates' peccadilloes they were more willing to be lenient than severe. They did not inspire into young men enthusiasm or strong devotion, but they made them upright, natural gentlemen, and it may be questioned whether that is not as good a



foundation on which a character may be built, as Arnold's system, which appealed too soon to the young man's head, or Pusey's, which stirred too early the young man's heart.<sup>56</sup>

The modest improvements of 1842 in the system at Oxford were dismissed as merely cosmetic by an anonymous critic (possibly James Mozley) writing under the pseudonym of Clericus in an 80 page pamphlet published in 1846. The author set out in great detail two pressing needs in the Church and his proposals for meeting them - these were the need to increase the number of clergy including representatives of the poorer classes and the need for a proper clerical education. He stated bluntly: 'We have no such thing as a strictly Clerical Education. That which goes under the name, is simply the education of the class of society out of which the Clergy come.'<sup>57</sup> He alludes there also to the social exclusiveness of the two ancient universities and their expensive lifestyle which precluded many potential ordinands from being educated there. He favoured such institutions as the theological colleges at Chichester and Wells and the missionary college at Canterbury, and supported the idea of ordaining teachers who had been trained at St Mark's College Chelsea:

Put our present University Education before any candid person, and ask him whether it is a suitable and sufficient one for Ministers of the Gospel? There is but one answer which he would give. He will say all trades and professions have their appropriate educations in the world. Tradesmen go through their apprenticeships; lawyers through their clerkships; but the Ministry of the English Church has positively no education appropriated to it. It takes its chance upon a promiscuous field. Her ministers pick up what divinity and knowledge of their profession they can, in a system devoted to general and classical reading. The Clergyman is brought up in a public, promiscuous place of education, with lawyers, medical men, and

squires that are to be. Those who are preparing for political life, country gentlemen, future men of fashion, all come up to the University, attend the same lectures, read the same books, and go through exactly the same general education with men who are preparing to be country curates. All professions, I repeat, among us have their appropriate educations, except the Clerical one: that has none. This defect has indeed been confessed lately by the authorities in our Universities, and a year of Divinity Lectures has been added to the three years of undergraduate education. This arrangement at present operates irregularly. Attendance on these Lectures is required of Fellows of Colleges before ordination. Some Bishops require it of all candidates for ordination. Some heads of Colleges make it a condition in giving College testimonials. It is, however, impossible to regard such an arrangement as any real remedy at all... It is to all intents and purposes a fourth undergraduate year. If the former three did not educate him clerically, no more does this year either. Looking on the matter with a practical eye, and knowing what the ordinary life of a BA at the University is, I must assert that nothing more empty, futile, nugatory, could have been devised as a remedy to our defective ministerial education than this additional year of University life... it pretends to do what it does not do; it blinds people's eyes, and gives the world in general the idea that there is some strictly and properly clerical education going on in the University when, in fact, there is none.<sup>58</sup>

One of Clericus's criticisms of Oxbridge was that the undergraduates had too much freedom which was frequently abused resulting in a lifestyle unworthy of men intended for Holy Orders. College testimonials, it could be argued, were intended as a safeguard against such men being ordained but this they largely failed to be. The matter was given great publicity when H.B. Bulteel, Fellow of Exeter College and Curate of St Ebbe's, in a sermon on 6 February 1831 preached in the University church accused the college authorities of complicity:

One more thing I wish now to bring before you, and which I pray God



to bring with power to your souls. It is this: that the Heads and resident Fellows of Colleges of this University have had, and have now, no small share in the introduction and perpetuation of these corruptions. They know better than I can tell them, how many times they have, by recommending improper persons for the ministry, brought a reproach upon the Church of England. Almost every Bishop requires College testimonials from the young man who comes to him for ordination, and nothing can be more proper; these testimonials affirm, that during the time of his residence at College he hath behaved himself "honestly, piously, and soberly"; and now I speak not at a venture, but from my own certain knowledge, and affirm, that these testimonials of sober and pious living have been given to men notorious for nothing so much in their day as profaneness, debauchery, and all kind of riotous living; and on the other hand I also know for a certainty, that these testimonials have been withheld from piety, honesty and sobriety, for no other reason than that they happened to be accompanied with a profession of Grace Articles of the Church of England. [i.e. they were Evangelicals] These are heavy charges, which must one day be answered before the face of men and angels at the great tribunal of God.<sup>59</sup>

He ended the sermon with a solemn warning to his young hearers to search their motives for ordination:

O ye, as many as have thoughts of entering into the ministry, beware lest ye be found among this number! Pause, pause and reflect before you take that awful step. Examine your motives, search your hearts. Ask yourselves the why, the wherefore, the reason, the inducement you have to take upon you the care of immortal souls! Is it that you have a respectable name? Is it because you expect profit and advancement? Is it because you think that by reason of your natural talents you are likely to lift yourselves up to the very pinnacles of greatness? If so, you may perhaps gain your end, but the curse of God will go along with it, and be your final reward. Brethren, the only thing which can make us ministers of Jesus Christ is the call of the Spirit of Christ. Man's ordination follows after, and is well in its place; but except we be first called by God, it is utterly unavailing.<sup>60</sup>

John Hill at St Edmund's Hall had spent a good part of the previous Wednesday morning with Bulteel hearing him read the sermon and discussing it with him, and his diary entry for the Sunday notes 'Bulteel preached an admirably faithful and spiritual sermon this afternoon at St Mary's.'<sup>61</sup> A future Prime Minister in the person of W.E. Gladstone was also in the crowded church for he normally worshipped at St Ebbe's and valued Bulteel's ministry; that evening he noted in his diary - 'a long letter home, giving an account of Bulteel's extraordinary sermon. It must rouse many and various feelings. God grant it may all work for good.'<sup>62</sup> The sermon was published on Tuesday 15th, and reprinted on the Thursday and Saturday, a thousand copies on each occasion. Dr Burton, the Regius Professor of Divinity, published his Remarks upon a Sermon preached at St Mary's on 6 February 1831 on Friday the 18th in which he tried to answer the charges. The heart of his argument lay in a single sentence 'the mere fact of a man having been a sinner, (and the cases which are mentioned amount only to this) is not a sufficient proof, that he is for ever unfit for the ministry.'<sup>63</sup> Bulteel's sermon eventually resulted in Bishop Bagot withdrawing his license ostensibly on the grounds of his having preached in the open air and in Non-Conformist chapels, and Bulteel left the Church of England.

G.V. Cox, Esquire Bedel in Law at the University, commented on this affair - 'Bulteel had told the authorities some home truths (though bitterly overstated) especially as to the serious evil of giving Testimonials for Orders as a matter of course.'<sup>64</sup> Four years later a fellow of Worcester College, J.C. Philpot, resigned his fellowship and left the Church of England partly because of the abuses condoned at the



University. In a letter to the Provost of his college he wrote:

And who that knows the University will not allow the following to be a faint sketch of the course run by many of her children? Initiated in boyhood in wickedness at one of the public schools, those dens of iniquity, or at a private school, in some cases but a shade better, and in others worse, he removes in youth to College, where having run a career of vanity and sin for three years, he obtains his degree. Fortified with this and his College testimonials, procured without difficulty except by the very notoriously immoral, and those who have shown some symptoms of spiritual religion, he presents himself to the Bishop for Ordination. Examined by the Bishop's Chaplain in a few commonplace topics of divinity, and approved, he is ordained amidst a heap of other candidates, without one question of a spiritual nature, one enquiry as to his own conversion to God, or one serious exhortation as to his motives and qualifications for so awful a work.<sup>66</sup>

The anonymous author of Oxford Unmasked in 1842 provided a further example; he described how a newly elected College Head dressed down a student for failing to recognize him and pay due respect and swore he would refuse the young man his testimonials for this.<sup>66</sup> Of course not all College authorities behaved so irresponsibly; an entry from John Hill's diary illustrates a very different attitude. On Friday 17 November 1820 he recorded that he had sent his Testimonials for Orders to a certain Mr Young and with them a letter in which he endeavoured to get this ordinand to take his vocation seriously, and how he 'urged the necessity of prayer and consideration before Ordination, of holiness, and faithfulness and devotedness when ordained. May the Giver of Grace make the hints beneficial to him.'<sup>67</sup> And from a later entry it appears they were.

Hill also kept open house for the undergraduates of St Edmund's Hall

in order to get to know them better and to influence them religiously. Tuckwell in his Reminiscences wrote slightly of these evening parties 'where prevailed tea and coffee, pietistic Low Church talk, prayer and hymnody of portentous length, yet palliated by the chance of sharing Bible or hymn book with one of the host's four charming daughters.'<sup>68</sup>

This entry from Hill's diary for 10 October 1821 illustrates his concern for each of his pupils: 'Term commences. I have been seeking divine guidance and assistance for the business of the term; and have been enabled to lay open before God in prayer - I trust accompanied with some feeling - the cases of each of my pupils individually; both as to their academical and other temporal concerns, and as to their conversion to God or growth in graces.'<sup>69</sup>

On November 12 1835, Pusey gave the inaugural address to a 'Theological Society' attended by thirty graduates - his theme was 'The necessity of Theological learning, especially in the Church of England.' In April 1836 J.B. Mozley was welcomed into the Pusey household to be joined later by three others whose purpose there was to study theology. At the beginning of 1837 Newman began weekly soirées in his rooms for undergraduates, and these continued uninterrupted for the next four years. In 1838 when Mrs Pusey's ill-health caused Mozley and company to move out, Newman and Pusey took a house nearly opposite the west front of Christ Church, fitted it up in simple fashion, and supplied housekeeping for young graduates willing to study divinity and assist them in their various theological literary projects. This experiment was in the nature of a Hall but lasted only two years. Mark Pattison, one of the four, described his life there:

We were to live in common, rent free, and pay a very small sum a week



for our frugal diet. I did some odd jobs for Pusey, collated manuscripts of Cyprian in the Bodleian. When Newman projected a translation of Thomas Aquinas's Catena Aurea on the Gospels, I undertook Matthew and Mark, but afterwards contented myself with Matthew... which took me nearly the whole of 1839... All this while I was rushing into the whirlpool of Tractarianism... In October 1839, being discontented with one of the two inmates of the "house", I seceded and took again a private lodging.<sup>70</sup>

A month later Pattison was elected Fellow of Lincoln College.

In the 1830s University religion came under attack from two sides, from those who wished to loosen the Church of England's grip on it, and from the Tractarian leaders who wished to give greater depth and substance to the Church's teachings. It would be easy to overestimate the importance of the Tractarian movement in Oxford itself and more particularly among the undergraduate body. The University historian C.E. Mallet judged that perhaps the majority of undergraduates took little or no part in the theological discussions which went on, and were indifferent to them if not impatient with them all.<sup>71</sup> Probably the greatest influence was exercised by Newman from the pulpit of St Mary's. One of those who heard him preach wrote: 'You might come away still not believing the tenets peculiar to the High Church system, but you would be harder than most men, if you did not feel more than ever ashamed of coarseness, selfishness, worldliness, if you did not feel the things of faith brought closer to the soul.'<sup>72</sup> Hurrell Froude's brother writing many years afterwards recalled - 'No one who heard his sermons in those days can ever forget them... He seemed to be addressing the most secret consciousness in each of us - as the eyes of a portrait appear to look at every person in a room.'<sup>73</sup> Newman was

conscious of the great influence he was having on prospective clergyman, as he noted later in his Apologia Pro Vita Sua. A cloud descended over the movement with the controversy resulting from Newman's Tract XC published in 1841, followed in 1843 by Pusey's formal condemnation for preaching an heretical sermon on the Eucharist and his suspension from preaching in the University for two years; a year later W.G. Ward, a former Tutor at Balliol, brought out his Ideal of the Christian Church which was condemned in 1845 and he was deprived of his degrees, and finally in the same year Newman left the Church of England.

The shortcomings of college chapel worship, already noted at Cambridge, were present in Oxford too. In 1822 an undergraduate published An Appeal to the Heads of the University of Oxford in which he drew their attention to the harm caused by the custom prevalent in almost every college of compelling attendance at the Sacrament of Holy Communion by undergraduates. He had in mind St Paul's solemn warning about the danger of partaking unworthily of this sacrament: 'If those who now compel attendance at the Lord's Table were to perceive the utter indifference, and in too many cases the derision, with which this most solemn ordinance is received, they would tremble at the responsibility they incur, and shrink in future from adding to sins which it may not be in their power to prevent.'<sup>73</sup> Frederick Oakeley was an undergraduate at Christ Church at this time and wrote of the services there 'Little or no care was taken to secure even the decent behaviour of those who attended chapel as a general rule; and it was only when that behaviour broke out, as was sometimes the case in the evening, into the most disgraceful irreverence, that the authorities



interposed to control it... During the greater part of my undergraduate time the most irregular and unpunctual attendant at the Chapel was the Dean himself.'<sup>74</sup>

Another writer ten years later painted an equally dismal picture:

Let us next attend him in his chapel, where we shall see the men dropping in, if in the morning half-asleep, if in the evening half-intoxicated. After the doors are closed, the reader commences the Church of England service, which stopping only for want of breath, and being ably seconded by the responder, (the rest being totally indifferent) he generally succeeds in running through, in fifteen minutes and some odd seconds. Such is the mockery of religion which he is compelled to attend twice a day.<sup>75</sup>

Similar criticisms were repeated in Thoughts on Reform at Oxford written by a Graduate in 1833. Charles Wordsworth, Bishop of St Andrews, who was at Christ Church from 1825-30 wrote 'I shall refrain from offering any remarks upon the provision made during my time for religious worship and instruction; which, however, it might wear a fair appearance of formal routine was essentially deficient, and in no respect satisfactory.'<sup>76</sup> Dean Hole recalling his years at Brasenose in the early 1840s wrote:

It may be said you had constant services, sermons, and divinity lectures. The services certainly were frequent; but they were also compulsory, and therefore attended grudgingly and as of necessity. They were said in a dreary edifice, and, as a rule, in a cold, monotonous, perfunctory tone, which did not invite devotion. I never heard a note of music in our college chapel; the University sermons (I do not remember that any were preached in college) failed to impress the undergraduate mind, except when Newman, or Pusey, or Claughton preached. No advantage was taken of lectures on the Greek

Testament for exhortation, or reproof, or instruction in righteousness...<sup>77</sup>

All of this paints a sorry picture of what ordinands were experiencing in some of the college chapels, and as Bishop Wordsworth reflected, it was a wholly unsatisfactory preparation for future ministry. Despite this there were students whose spiritual life was nurtured in the college chapel; Pattison wrote of one such - 'To my surprise he has been a regular attendant at daily prayers and the early Communion all the Vacation - at Chapel during Term he has always been so, but that might have been out of obedience to college discipline.'<sup>78</sup> Another such was Henry Manning, later to become Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster; for him his years at Balliol had immense religious significance:

During my time at Oxford a religious change had come over me. First the daily chapel became very soothing, especially the Psalms and the lessons. Next, for the first time, I really studied the Old and New Testament. We had to analyse and condense the historical books in writing; next, to answer catechetical questions in the chapel in writing; further to read the Greek Testament in lecture. Meanwhile I had begun to read Barrow's Sermons with great care; then Butler's Analogy, and his Sermons with still greater care. It began to take a powerful hold of me.<sup>79</sup>

William Jacobson spent three days at Oriel in 1829 staying with a friend, one of the Fellows, and wrote afterwards:

With regard to the Chapel, I certainly had no idea that anything like it existed at either University. The decorum, the full attendance, the uniformity of response, were all delightful. It seems to be the rule that whatever fellows are seen at dinner should show themselves also at Chapel. This cannot but have the happiest possible effect on the whole system. How differently must the daily Service be regarded in such a case, from the way in which it is viewed in the many



colleges where for the seniors to go to Chapel is the exception, - to stay away, the rule!<sup>80</sup>

We have already taken note of the influence of such preachers as Newman and Bulteel but they were exceptional. Newman writing on University Preaching in later life as a Roman Catholic gave as the preacher's general object 'the spiritual good of his hearers':

Any general subject will be seasonable in the University pulpit which would be seasonable elsewhere; but, if we look for subjects especially suitable, they will be of two kinds. The temptations which ordinarily assail the young and the intellectual are two: those which are directed against their virtue, and those which are directed against their faith... as youth becomes the occasion of excess and sensuality, so does intellect give accidental opportunity to religious error, rash speculation, doubt, and infidelity.<sup>81</sup>

Contrast this advice given by a notable preacher with what was often heard from the pulpit of St Mary's according to the authors of Oxford Academical Abuses Disclosed. Writing in 1832 they were very critical of the University sermons and especially of the pomp attached to the Vice-Chancellor's procession to them: 'The subjects of these discourses may be divided into three classes. 1. Praising themselves; 2. Giving a dry moral lecture, such as their great idol Aristotle might have produced; 3. Violent declarations against Catholics, Dissenters and Evangelicals.'<sup>82</sup>

G.V. Cox confirms this description from his own earlier experience: During my Undergraduate days [1802-06] I went to St Mary's whenever "a great gun" (as we called a noted preacher - not necessarily a Canon) was expected to fire away (as was then the wont) at a methodistical or a dissenting target. I heard also Dr Tatham, Rector of Lincoln, preach his famous two hours and a half sermon in defence of the genuineness of the disputed verse in St John's first Epistle, "There are three that bear witness etc". Long as the sermon was (and

I have not overstated the time), few, if any, left the church till the conclusion! so strangely attractive was the mixture of learning and coarseness... The conclusion was to this effect:- "I leave the subject to be followed up by the learned bench of bishops, who have little to do, and do not always do that little." <sup>83</sup>

Another critic in 1833 complained of the sermons heard in St Mary's as being 'divinity lectures, rather than practical exhortations to a religious and virtuous life... but if practical exhortations are anywhere needed, they are needed at Oxford.' <sup>84</sup> Which comment leads us to look again at the moral laxity condoned in the University.

A writer addressing himself in an open letter to the MP for Oxford, Robert Peel, in 1824, asked:

Why should a parent send his son to the university, with the fearful certainty of his good principles being vilified, if not shaken; of his innocence being endangered, if not polluted; of his contracting friendships with those who will do their worst endeavour to lead the credulous unwary novice into debauchery, extravagance, debt and ruin. Most young men, it may be answered, pass with little injury through these snares and perils. But why should any, destined for holy orders, be subject to the chance of corruption; why, even, should they breathe the air of pollution? <sup>85</sup>

This problem existed throughout the half century under review - Shelley's biographer, J.T. Hogg, describing Oxford life in 1810 wrote:

Our college was denominated University College, but Liberty Hall would have been a more correct and significant name. Universal laziness was the order of the day, except so far as half a dozen scholars were concerned who subsisted, in some measure on eleemosynary foundations, and were no acquisition to the society, such people being usually the vulgar relatives or friends of the vulgar authorities of the place. In the evening unceasing drunkenness and continual uproar prevailed. <sup>86</sup>

Rees Rice writing home from Jesus College in 1823 said 'Jesus College



was some time ago very idle and depraved, but it is now, through the exertions of the Principal and Tutors, fast improving, the proportion of reading men to idlers is 1 in 3... As to the University in general... many leave it no better scholars than they were when they entered, it corrupts the morals of many men, and even among those I know, several think and talk of nothing but the gratification of their sensual desires.<sup>87</sup>

A resident member of the University writing in 1837 published a Letter to Lord Holland on the Regulation of Undergraduate Expense and Moral Improvement. His opening paragraph describes how freshmen quickly succumbed:

During the several years, in which I have remained resident in this University, it has long been a subject of serious regret, in my view of things, that no decisive, no effectual steps have been adopted to check the inordinate expenses of Undergraduates, attendant upon the long, long credit so easily obtained from almost every Tradesman in the place. How does this system of long credit manifestly operate? An unexperienced youth, for most striplings from school, transplanted to College, are of such a class, arrives at the great University; he becomes, in many instances, a companion of the extravagant and dissipated party in his College, for such a party, in opposition to the studious and well-conducted, does always exist in every College...<sup>88</sup>

Indebtedness and lax standards were the kind of scandals Gladstone had in mind when he wrote to Peel on 21 June 1845 urging the need for positive action in five different areas at Oxford. He referred 'to the almost entire absence of any efforts to raise the religious tone of the university, to remove its scandals, to enlarge (in particular) its theological studies, to increase its means of meeting the wants of the country, to resist by works of solid learning the renewed and (in our

present ill-trained state) really formidable controversial attacks of the Church of Rome. Here are five heads of positive action.<sup>89</sup> Right at the end of our period in 1850 an 'Anxious Father' shared his concerns about the evils and expense his son might be caught up in at the university:

God has given me only one surviving son, who, should his life be prolonged, I hope will enter the ministerial office in our established and venerated Church. And yet, from what I know of much of the present state of our Universities, I dread placing him where he will have to pass through so fiery an ordeal, as is an Oxford or Cambridge life. Extravagance in the expenditure of money in those places of learning is now most notorious.<sup>90</sup>

The Oxford University, City and County Herald reported many cases of insolvent undergraduates including the case of one ordinand in 1849 who had contracted debts of £2,000 before the end of his second year! Such scandalous cases provoke the question - how expensive was it really for a 'normal' student? Henry Manning had been allowed £260 a year by his father whilst he was a pupil at Harrow and it was intended he should live on the same allowance at Oxford but he persuaded his father he needed £350 a year! It is worth recalling that at this time (late 1820s) there were curates with families having to live on £50 a year. The University Commissioners investigated this matter of expense and reported that at Durham a student living in Hall could survive on £60 a year but at Oxford a parent could congratulate himself if his son's education there cost him no more than £600 in all. Clearly some parents paid much more, and a very few students managed on much less. One such was Frederick Temple who went up to Balliol in 1839. His biographer describes how he lived with stern and brave frugality maintaining



himself by scholarships, denying himself a fire in winter, and keeping close and careful accounts. His bills were shown to the Commissioners and it was demonstrated that a man could keep his expenses down to about £80 a year at Balliol if he was determined to do so. Various attempts were made to provide cheaper accommodation for poor students, notably by the Evangelical Provost of Worcester College, Richard Cotton, and by the Tractarian leader and Fellow of Oriel, Charles Marriott, but without success.

Provost Copleston earlier in the century held a very different view - if undergraduates couldn't afford to live as gentlemen, they shouldn't come to Oxford! He wrote to his brother-in-law in 1825:

When speaking of University expenses, it ought always to be observed that the mere College charges for rooms, diet, and instruction are seldom so much as £100 a year. The rest is just what a gentleman must spend wherever he is, provided he wishes to live as other gentlemen do... The expenses complained of are not those of a university. They are just what must arise from the fortunes of young men living together, not as boys, but as men; and if people of no fortune have the ambition to associate with the class above them, what right have they to object to the expenditure it involves?<sup>91</sup>

It is hardly surprising that with the expense, the loose life-style of so many students, and the lack of any real professional training, many critics looked for alternative ways of preparing a man for his life's work in the Ordained Ministry and doing it in a more disciplined and devotional setting. Samuel Wilberforce was consecrated Bishop of Oxford on 30 November 1845 and in January 1846 he had his Rural Deans and Archdeacons stay with him overnight at Cuddesdon in ones and twos in order to gain insight into the needs of his diocese. At the conclusion of these days of conference, he compiled an 'Agenda'

of things to be done - no 2 on his list was 'A Diocesan training college for clergy to be established at Cuddesdon.'<sup>92</sup> The college would have been opened very quickly had Wilberforce had his way but he allowed himself to be persuaded to take time and make it more obviously a diocesan college; the result was Cuddesdon did not come into being until 1854.

In 1848 E.C. Woollcombe, Fellow and Tutor at Balliol, published a letter to the Provost of Worcester College on University Extension and the Poor Scholar Question in which he asserted: 'The truth is, a vast majority of Undergraduates are living, and are allowed to live by parents, at the University at the rate of full £200 a year, and a great many still beyond that sum. And these persons of course set the fashion.'<sup>93</sup> He was also concerned that the University should meet the need for providing many more clergymen for the two thousand new churches built in the previous twenty years and for the expanding industrial towns and for the colonies:

We have only attempted to meet this gigantic demand by the foundation of Durham University, of the College at St Bees, and of the Theological Department at King's College; and the supply which can be calculated from all these three Establishments together, would probably be much overstated at one hundred candidates for Holy Orders each year. All honour and all success to those who have founded these fresh "Seminaries of religion and useful learning!" - all good speed to their generous labours, in spite of their many hindrances! Yet it is no disparagement to them to say, that they cannot do the great work as well as we can here.<sup>94</sup>

He urged that one or two halls should be attached to each college and the total cost of an academic year, including fees, tuition, board and lodging, should be £50.



Charles Marriott published a letter to the author on the same theme in which he argued for several new Halls and even a new College. Marriott had been the first Principal of Chichester Theological College and he knew the value of that extra year's guided reading, professional training and disciplined prayer life before a graduate offered himself for ordination. He wrote:

The truth is, that we very much want a longer residence, if the University is to be a place of preparation for Holy Orders, as it must be to many... Much may be hoped, indeed, from the establishment of Diocesan Colleges, of which, we have already seen the beneficial results. Many of our young men stand in need of a closer tuition than is provided for Bachelors of Arts in Oxford, and more and easier lectures than can be expected from Academical Professors, before they can be prepared either for a Bishop's examination, or the work of a parish. But the system of lectures lately established here would be merely sufficient for many, and there is nothing to prevent them having some additional tutorial superintendence, if arrangements were made for their continuing to reside at a moderate expense. The number who need this advantage is still great, after deducting those provided for by Chichester and Wells, and would be greater if our gates were thrown open to a large number of scholars.<sup>95</sup>

In March 1848 forty-eight of the sixty-four tutors in the University signed a Memorial and published a pamphlet urging that university teaching needed more specialisation and that more men of real learning needed to be encouraged to remain there, and they recommended a three stage examination system. About Passmen they wrote:

They form about two thirds of the University, the great body of the clergy and gentry are among the number; they are the class whom it is most difficult to teach, who find it most difficult to learn, and to whom of all others the University course is at present least adapted. It is indeed impossible to defend a system which neither fully occupies their time, nor gives them any subjects of interest or

preparation for their after profession.<sup>96</sup>

In defence of a distinct examination in theology, the tutors put forward four arguments of which the first was most important and plainspoken - 'That the Theological instruction of the Clergy is very insufficiently supplied by the present system of the University.'<sup>97</sup> This clear admission by the men actually teaching theology in the colleges to the undergraduates who would go on to be ordained is the plainest proof of how inadequately Oxford was preparing men for the ordained ministry even at the end of our period. The Commissioners appointed in 1850 to inquire into the state of the University commented 'No efficient means at present exist in the University for training Candidates for Holy Orders in those studies which belong peculiarly to their profession. A University training cannot indeed be expected to make men accomplished Divines before they become Clergymen; but the University must be to blame if Theological studies languish.'<sup>98</sup> (See Volume 2 Appendix 2 A for the Regius Professor of Divinity's account to the Commission of his lectures.) In 1850 most Oxford graduates who would be ordained had taken only a Pass Degree. The requirements for this were no more than a limited acquaintance with the Bible and the XXXIX Articles, portions of Euripides, Heroditus, Livy and Horace, a little Euclid or a little Logic - in no way was it a preparation for a life's work. No wonder that some Oxford graduates looked for theological education and professional training at Chichester, Wells or Durham, or that the Bishop of Oxford should have felt it necessary to found his own theological college at Cuddesdon.

The final words of judgement can come from the Rt Rev Samuel Wilberforce who at the stone-laying ceremony at Cuddesdon in 1853 said



- 'Far be it from me to say anything in disparagement of our Universities, yet they do not meet the case. They may be all very well for those who wish to arrive at abstruse theological learning, but we want something which shall more directly prepare men, who have gone through general education, for the practical duties of a clergyman.'<sup>99</sup>

On the positive side - as we noted at Cambridge - but which is more difficult to measure and assess - was the personal influence which one man had on another. Roundell Palmer, later Earl of Selborne, who won an open scholarship at Trinity and took a First, wrote in his memoirs 'In my Oxford recollections, the pleasures of friendship take the first place...' <sup>100</sup> And he wrote at length about such good and godly friends as Charles Wordsworth, later to become Bishop of St Andrews. He valued too his membership of the "Union" debating society then at its zenith under the presidency of William Ewart Gladstone:

a school for public speaking, where awkwardness might be brushed off, command of words and self-possession obtained, good and bad examples observed, and the lesson learnt that a too frequent speaker becomes a bore, - all without any serious penalty for mistakes or failures, - was not less useful than lectures and examinations to a young man intended for the Bar, and hoping perhaps some day to obtain a place in Parliament. And practice in original thinking and writing, with freedom in the choice of subjects, and no public criticism to be feared, was of great use to one in whom (as was my case) the imaginative faculty was in advance of concentrated and methodised thought. <sup>101</sup>

All of this was equally true and valuable to any ordinand - among future notable churchmen he heard there who gained early experience of public speaking were H.E. Manning, F.D. Maurice and Benjamin Harrison.

The influence of one undergraduate on another could be life-changing

as W.W. Phelps recalled. He had been a scholar of Corpus Christi College in 1815 and later became Archdeacon of Carlisle; in a letter written at the time to a friend, he described his conversion:

My experience bears a striking resemblance to yours. When I entered Oxford, I knew nothing of the grace of God and the gift by grace. I had not a thought of the "Washing of regeneration and the renewing of the Holy Ghost"... In a word, though from motives of self-pride and economy I abstained from grievously immoral indulgences, I was notwithstanding living without God in the world.<sup>102</sup>

A former schoolfriend, now an undergraduate at Pembroke, had been converted and he in turn had won Phelps to Christ, and equally important for his future spiritual development he reported - 'Since that time I have been introduced to religious friends in the University and have been brought on from strength to strength.'<sup>103</sup> What this meant can be illustrated from Gladstone's diaries - along with the details of which services he had attended and which religious books he had read on a Sunday, Gladstone made such entries as - 'Tea with Anstice, and a conversation of three hours with him by which I was much delighted and I hope instructed too,' and 'A conversation of an hour and a half with Anstice on practical religion particularly as regards our own situation. I bless and praise God for his presence here.'<sup>104</sup>

We have already noted Mark Pattison's tribute to the influence of J.H. Newman on his intellectual and spiritual development; Newman too as a junior fellow at Oriel recorded his debt to Richard Whately and Edward Hawkins, his seniors: 'as to Dr Whately I owe him a great deal...While I was still awkward and timid in 1822, he took me by the hand, and acted the part to me of a gentle and encouraging instructor. He, emphatically, opened my mind, and taught me to think and to use my



reason.'<sup>105</sup> And of Hawkins with whom he was later to clash over the tutorial system at Oriel, he wrote: 'I can say with a full heart that I love him, and have never ceased to love him... He was the first who taught me to weigh my words, and to be cautious in my statements... Then as to doctrine, he was the means of great additions to my belief.'<sup>106</sup>

This too was a preparation for the ordained ministry, every bit as important as college lectures and worship.

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## ST BEES CLERICAL INSTITUTION

In August and September 1821, the Rt Revd George Henry Law, Bishop of Chester, toured Copeland in West Cumberland, the most distant deanery in his one hundred and twenty mile long diocese. The Whitehaven Gazette in its weekly editions recorded the details of his itinerary and described with what thoroughness he was carrying out his inspection. It was the fourth such tour since his appointment to Chester in 1812. He had forewarned his clergy in his tri-ennial Visitation Charge of 1820 that he would return the next summer and autumn 'to visit and inspect the state of each church, churchyard and glebe-house' in the diocese.' On Monday 27 August 1821 the paper reported:

The Lord Bishop of Chester is actively and laudably engaged in examining the condition of the different churches in his extensive diocese, and has already given directions for various alterations and improvements. In future, sermons are to be preached both in the morning and evening on the Sabbath, in places where formerly only one was delivered in the morning.<sup>2</sup> In Egremont, a wall is to be built round the church, and a ditch made to take off the water. The Curate of Corney is to have an addition to his salary of twenty five pounds per annum, and a parsonage house is to be built for him. The living of Irton and Drigg is to be divided, and a Curate appointed to each, in order that the parishioners may have the benefit of hearing divine service twice on the Sabbath; other livings similarly circumstanced are to be placed on the same footing. Too much praise cannot be given to the Bishop for his unwearied exertions. After having gone through the church at St Bees, the Bishop proceeded to the school and examined the Rev Mr Bradley's pupils with whose proficiency he expressed himself well pleased. Yesterday he preached at St Bees; and he will sleep at Workington Hall<sup>3</sup> to-night.



A week later the same newspaper reported:

The Lord Bishop proceeded on Monday last to Lamplugh, Arlecdon, and the churches in that neighbourhood, and returned to Whitehaven Castle<sup>4</sup> in the evening. Tuesday his Lordship visited Moresby, Distington, Harrington and Workington... A new church is to be built at Wythop, and at Moresby; and almost all curacies in the diocese are to be augmented. No horses or cows are to be permitted to graze in churchyards. The Bishop is very particular in examining the fonts, many of which are to be replaced by new ones better adapted to the purpose. And he strongly recommends the sinking of drains to take off the water in damp churches; and also the repairing of decayed flags. At a church not fifty miles from this town, he ordered the bells to be rung; and as there was only one sound bell and another cracked - the warden very sagaciously rung the former twice; but the musical ear of his Lordship detected the imposition, and a new bell was immediately ordered.

These fascinating glimpses of Bishop Law reveal him in his manifold roles and explain why his biographer, S.H. Cassan, described him as 'one of the most useful Prelates of that diocese.'<sup>5</sup> They also highlight some of the most persistent problems he faced - the neglect of churches and glebe-houses, the infrequency of services, and the inadequate stipends of so many clergy. Four years later, his successor, Bishop Blomfield, felt he had to appoint local commissaries with authority to visit the churches and glebe-houses in their district and to direct the necessary repairs because 'the directions given by my predecessor in the course of a laborious personal visitation have not been so exactly complied with, as to remove all occasions of complaint.'<sup>6</sup>

The sheer size of Chester Diocese defeated Bishop Law. It was more than even the most energetic and conscientious of bishops could hope to exercise an effective oversight of on his own, and no bishop had been

so industrious or travelled so much since Bishop Porteus made an extensive enquiry and visitation in 1778. The Whitehaven Gazette reminded its readers on 24 September 1821 of the size of the task Law was tackling as Bishop:

#### DIOCESE OF CHESTER

In the year 1801 there were 593 Churches and Chapels in this Diocese; and nearly 100 new ones have been erected since the present Bishop came to the See in 1812. Greatest length of the Diocese 120 miles; Greatest width of the Diocese 90 miles; Population in 1801 1,007,246.

There was also great variety in the physical and social geography of the diocese. On the one hand, there were the expanding industrial centres of Lancashire, the major port of Liverpool, the coal mines of West Cumberland and the extensive shipping trade of Whitehaven and Workington. On the other, there was arable Cheshire, parts of the Yorkshire dales and of rugged, wild Cumberland and Westmorland. His task was made more difficult too by the growing alienation of very many people from the Established Church. In the considered judgement of John Addy, the historian of Chester Diocese in the second half of the eighteenth century, 'the Anglican Church had lost the support of the working classes in the industrial areas by the end of the century and in many country parishes poverty-stricken clergy struggled to fight against an attitude of indifference.'<sup>7</sup> A directory and gazeteer of the County of Lancaster published in 1824 printed official statistics showing the relative strengths of the major Christian denominations. Despite the consecration of some twenty new episcopal chapels and churches since the beginning of the century, the Church of England was outnumbered by at least three to one in terms of buildings by the



combined forces of the Catholics, Methodists, and Independents.<sup>8</sup>

The problems that Bishop Law faced were many and acute but none was more persistent than the shortage of educated clergy. Bishop after bishop in the previous century had singled out this problem for attention but none had succeeded in resolving it. In 1728 Bishop Samuel Peploe had warned his clergy at his primary visitation against issuing testimonials to unworthy candidates for Holy Orders lest 'vicious men' obtain ordination; the warning was repeated in his charge of 1747 when he pressed the clergy to state on the testimonial that they were personally acquainted with the candidate! In an effort to counter the attacks of those who regarded his clergy as 'useless and burdensome, idle and superficial in ministerial performance'<sup>9</sup> he outlined in that same charge what were the proper duties of a clergyman. His successor, Bishop Keene, required candidates to present a curriculum vitae before the ordination but again with no significant result.<sup>10</sup> When Bishop Beilby Porteus was appointed to the see in 1777, more than half the clergy were non-graduates and he determined to raise the educational standards of candidates, both those coming directly from grammar schools and those who had studied at university.

At his primary visitation, he charged the clergy to impress upon all would-be ordinands the urgent necessity of study, likewise the school masters who were educating the non-graduate candidates. 'The greater part of those who apply for ordination in this diocese are of that description and therefore it is certainly incumbent on their masters to take care they do not come unqualified.'<sup>11</sup> He now expected his clergy to have a full knowledge of the Scriptures in Greek, combined with sound instruction in ecclesiastical history in general and of the

Church of England in particular, knowledge of contemporary controversies - the objections of Deists to revealed religion, of atheists to all religion, and of the differences between the Church of Rome and the Anglican Church, likewise they should be acquainted with the beliefs and practices of Protestant bodies who were presenting such a challenge throughout the diocese.

In 1782 Bishop Porteus was the recipient of an Open Letter entitled Free and Apposite Observations on the one very evident and indecent Cause of the present rapid Decline of the Clerical Credit and Character. After a lengthy preface, the author began his letter: 'My Lord, Loud complaints have been lately made, and just grounds for offence taken, at an evil of an alarming and increasing nature. It is the admission of men of no talents, no acquirements, no education, into the church.'<sup>12</sup> The author made clear that the Bishop himself was not being criticized as he had always proceeded in this matter 'with invariable circumspection.' Nonetheless, it may have been this public criticism which spurred the Bishop a few months later into issuing a reading list for ordination candidates in his diocese:

I will specify a few cheap and common books, which I expect everyone to have read and digested well before he offers himself to me for Orders.

Secker's Lectures on the Catechism

Secker's Charges

Burnet's Exposition of the XXXIX Articles

Burnet's Pastoral Care

Grotius de Veritate Religionis Christianae

Pearson On the Creed

Percy's Key to the New Testament

The Four Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles in the original Greek with some good Comment



Wheatley On Common Prayer

To which I must add a frequent and careful perusal of the Ordination Office.<sup>13</sup>

In common with his predecessors, he was critical of the careless manner in which letters of testimonial were granted to candidates and often to bogus clerics offering themselves for curacies.<sup>14</sup> There is evidence that he instituted some form of examination for candidates, requiring their ordination papers to be in his hands at least one month prior to the ordination and finally that the candidate himself should be present at the place of ordination three or four days beforehand.<sup>15</sup>

His concern about standards of clerical education reached out to the two English universities; ten years before he became a bishop he had preached on Commencement Sunday, 5 July 1767, at Cambridge On the Advantage of an Academical Education. In His sermon he argued that 'revealed religion' should be 'an essential part of university learning'. 'And this necessity is still more apparent with respect to those who are sent here to qualify themselves for the pastoral office; whose peculiar province and business it will be to instruct the people committed to their care "in the words of eternal life", and who must therefore never expose themselves to the hazard of that insulting question, "Thou that teachest another, teachest thou not first thyself?"'<sup>16</sup>

At the end of his life Bishop Porteus funded five prizes to be competed for by Cambridge students. His biographer, Robert Hodgson, explained in the bishop's own words why:

It has often been a matter of deep regret to me, that, in the excellent system of education established in our two Universities, sufficient regard has not been paid to the instruction of young men

intended for the Church in those studies and attainments, which are peculiarly fitted to qualify them for discharging with respectability and success the various important functions of their sacred office. More particularly I have lamented that there is no part of academical education that has any tendency to produce, what is certainly one of the most useful, and most essential branches of our profession, - good preaching and good reading. There is no instruction given in it, no rewards or honours assigned to it, no attention paid to it. Yet this is confessedly the great instrument by which we are "to persuade men"; by which we are to make an impression on their hearts and consciences, reclaim them from sin, establish them in virtue, and "work out their salvation".<sup>17</sup>

There can be no doubt of his concern for high ministerial standards but as far as Chester is concerned, he did not stay long enough to make any significant impression on the state of the diocese. Indeed an abiding weakness of the diocese was the short tenure of the see by each bishop.

His successor, William Cleaver, who was also Principal of Brasenose College Oxford, was an absentee bishop but he did at least try to improve on one of Porteus's solutions to the problem of ill-educated clergy. In 1791, he published A List of Books intended for the Use of the younger Clergy and other Students in Divinity within the Diocese of Chester. His list ran to thirty-four printed pages, the books being grouped in three classes. He wrote 'my principal object has been in the first two classes to select such only as are most obviously employed in maintaining the fundamental doctrines of our faith, and in vindicating and illustrating the articles, rites and ceremonies of the Church of England.'<sup>18</sup> The third class of books was for those who had left university for parochial cures. Each class was sub-divided under these



headings - Practical and Pastoral Duties, Books of Devotion, Religion in general, Revealed Religion, the Scriptures, Commentaries, Concordances, Doctrines, Creeds, Articles, Catechism and Liturgy, Sacraments and Rites, Church of England, Ecclesiastical History, Ecclesiastical Law, and Miscellaneous. Cleaver's intentions were sound and the book-list went through several editions, each new one being corrected and enlarged, but publishing lists was no guarantee the books would be read either by graduates or non-graduates, by candidates or clergy. And not all divinity professors approved of his list anyway; Dr Marsh criticized it in his Theological Lectures for lacking any system which stung Bishop Burgess of St David's, the founder of St David's College at Lampeter, into defending Cleaver - 'I can hardly conceive a course of professional reading more calculated to make a conscientious, able and useful minister of the Church of England.'<sup>19</sup>

In his charge of 1799, the year before he was translated to the see of St Asaph, Cleaver listed the difficulties of his diocese as he perceived them, or to use his description 'what those circumstances are, which in this Diocese, demand a peculiar vigilance and exertion'. They were 'a want of places of divine worship', 'the want of gratuitous room in our Chapels for the poorer classes of life, in an increasing and unequal population' and 'the disproportionate provision of Clergy which is inadequate perhaps to all, but certainly to the occasional duties of very populous districts.'<sup>20</sup> However, he did nothing to remedy these defects which were causing people to turn to the Dissenting Chapels for spiritual sustenance. Neither of his successors appears to have made any impression on the mounting problems of the diocese; one of them, Bishop Sparke, staying only two years before being translated

to the more lucrative see of Ely.

Such was the position when George Henry Law came to Chester in 1812. The majority of his clergy were non-graduates and ill-prepared for the ministry. In the five years prior to the opening of the college at St Bees, he ordained 133 Deacons of whom 77 were non-graduates:<sup>21</sup>

	1812	1813	1814	1815	1816	
Graduates	10	10	12	19	5	56
Non-Graduates	15	18	20	15	9	77
Total	25	28	32	34	14	133

Many of the graduate clergy found curacies and livings in Cheshire which covered only seven rural deaneries, a fraction of the huge diocese, but the area where stipends were generally higher.<sup>22</sup> In the northern deaneries of Cumberland and Westmorland stipends tended to be much lower and accordingly non-graduate clergy predominated.

Bishops Cleaver, Majendie and Law had all been willing to leave the stipends of curates below the nationally recommended minimum and said so in their charges.<sup>23</sup> Harrowby's Curates Act in 1813 set £80 p.a. as the minimum stipend, yet a year later in his Primary Visitation Charge Bishop Law said 'With relation to the stipends of the Curates, upon which so much has of late been observed, I have no cause of complaint. The average of their salaries throughout the Diocese is £71 per annum, exclusive of the Parsonage Houses.'<sup>24</sup> The truth is that many received far less than this, and as he was to discover on his tour of the diocese many parishes had no parsonage house. In 1813 the newly ordained Curate of Kirkby Ireleth in Furness received only £25 p.a.; in 1812 the Curate of Embleton received an increment of £5 which then brought his stipend up to £25 p.a., and his successors in that curacy in 1815 and 1817 continued to receive the same lowly sum.<sup>25</sup> A former



student of St Bees Clerical Institution, C.B. Dunn, was licensed as Curate of Dalton in Furness in 1822 at £20 p.a. There were curates in West Cumberland who earned much less than the coal hewers in the pits of Whitehaven and Workington, and less even than some agricultural workers.<sup>26</sup> Such pitifully low stipends necessitated the recipients serving more than one curacy simultaneously, or taking some additional form of employment such as school-mastering. The poverty of many benefices remained a major cause of pluralism and absenteeism among incumbents as well as among assistant curates. In 1809 when Queen Anne's Bounty fixed £150 a year as a desirable minimum, there remained nearly three hundred livings in the diocese valued at less than £100 a year, of which eighty-eight were worth not more than £50.<sup>27</sup> And as late as 1835, only forty-nine out of the one hundred and twelve livings in the northern deaneries of the diocese had parsonage houses classified as 'fit for residence'.<sup>28</sup> Here was a major contributory factor to the high incidence of non-residence among the clergy. It was not a situation likely to attract the services of the most able and best educated among them.

During his first visitation, Law had to challenge the clergy on the perennial problem of signing testimonials, earlier warnings having been ignored.

I now proceed to mention another subject, of the highest importance to the best interests of the Church - the signing of testimonials. And here I cannot too earnestly recommend to you, the strictest enquiry and caution. From the great extent of this Diocese, it is impossible, even with the most anxious attention, that I can become sufficiently acquainted with the principles and conduct of all the Clergy. But they who undertake to supply this information, both may and ought to have a thorough knowledge of those, for whom they

answer, in all the particulars, and during the whole period, for which their testimony is given. Upon their evidence I place in all instances a great, in many an entire reliance. On them, therefore, rests no small share of responsibility. On them it may depend, whether or not an unfit pastor be at first admitted into the fold, whether or not, afterwards, the care of the flock be confided to his charge. Nothing then can be more injurious to the credit and interests of our holy profession, than too great a facility, or a want of attention in signing testimonials.<sup>29</sup>

Given the financial and housing disincentives which prevailed throughout much of the diocese and especially in the north, and the likelihood that most candidates seeking ordination would continue to be non-graduates, Law had to find some solution and find it within the boundaries of the diocese. Law can be justly criticized for his reactionary attitudes and opinions on some issues but no one could deny that he himself was an extremely hardworking and conscientious bishop and he wished his clergy to be equally dedicated to their ministry. In his charge of 1817, he set out at some length his view of the Ordained Ministry, in effect what he expected from all his clergy including those ordinands who had just started their training at the Clerical Institution he had founded on the Cumbrian coast. At St Bees, he believed, he had produced the solution which would provide the diocese with a steady stream of decently trained and respectable clergy.

The honour of founding the first modern theological college in the Church of England belongs to George Henry Law but the idea was not original to him, neither the idea of such a training institution nor its location. Bishop Thomas Burgess of St David's in Wales, facing very similar but even more acute problems, had publicized his intention as early as 1804 of founding a college in his diocese where candidates



for Holy Orders could be trained, and in 1811 he had published a preliminary (and very premature) set of regulations. Funds were still being amassed and public support canvassed for that institution, and a further sixteen years would pass before the first students arrived at Lampeter. It is inconceivable that Law did not know about the proposed Welsh college and of Bishop Burgess's temporary expedient of licensing certain grammar schools for training ordinands. Nor can he have been ignorant of the Roman Catholic seminaries both on the Continent and in England, or of the many Dissenting Academies in England and Wales which offered a liberal and useful education of a very high standard. Some of them were situated in his own diocese and trained Dissenting Ministers as long as they were precluded from studying at Oxford or graduating at Cambridge. One of the most famous of these had been at Warrington which closed in 1783 but re-opened in 1803 at York; and Natland in Westmorland and Whitehaven in Cumberland had both been the sites of Dissenting Academies for short periods in the eighteenth century. Several more academies were founded in the early nineteenth century; the Baptists started theological colleges at Horton (Bradford) in 1805, at Abergavenny in 1807 and at Stepney in 1810, and the Congregationalists founded one at Hackney in 1803. The Baptist Academical Institution at Stepney, the precursor of to-day's Regent's Park Baptist College, whose aim was 'the education of pious young men, designed for the Christian ministry' had a staff consisting of a Principal, a Tutor and a part-time Lecturer who taught theology and Biblical exegesis, the classics, philosophy and mathematics in a four year course.<sup>30</sup> Bishop Law's Clerical Institution was to be a much more modest enterprise than this.

Whilst he was still planning it, yet another Dissenting Academy was opened in his diocese at Blackburn:

The "Independent Academy" is a kind of collegiate institution, established here in 1816, by the congregational dissenters of Lancashire, for the education of young men for the ministry, and instruction is offered to them in the Latin. Greek and Hebrew languages, and in mathematics, natural philosophy, etc. The students also attend courses of lectures in theology, and the higher branches of literature and science. The direction of this foundation was originally confided to the Rev Joseph Fletcher A.M.; but since the removal of that gentleman to Romsey, in 1822, the Rev George Payne A.M. has occupied the station of theological tutor, and the Rev Ebenezer Miller A.M. that of classical tutor.<sup>31</sup>

St Bees, in comparison, would remain a one man show for the first ten years of its life.

Law had been a contemporary of Charles Simeon's at Cambridge. He had been an undergraduate and Fellow of Queen's College under the Evangelical Isaac Milner and had been an Incumbent in Cambridgeshire prior to being appointed to the see of Chester thanks to the influence of his brother the Lord Chief Justice. He must have known of Simeon's pioneering work among the undergraduates through his 'Sermon Classes' and 'Conversation Parties'. Simeon demonstrated what a single clergyman with a clear vision of what the Ordained Ministry was about could achieve. The lesson was not lost on Law who appointed a Cambridge graduate as the first Principal of his own new college.

The Bishop's immediate problem was to find a suitable location for his institution and to finance the enterprise. Fortunately for him a wealthy patron appeared who met both needs; this was William, second Earl of Lonsdale, whose family had grown rich and powerful on the coal



of West Cumberland. The two men were already acquainted and had much in common. Both came from long established Cumbrian families; Law's father had been Bishop of Carlisle (1768-1787) and had married into the wealthy Christian family at Unerigg in West Cumberland, and his grandfather had been Curate of Staveley in Cartmel and Master of a small school there; he himself had been Vicar of Torpenhow and a Canon of Carlisle. As Tories the two men were political allies, and the Earl was patron of many livings in Cumberland and Westmorland.

In July 1816 the Bishop stayed with the Earl at Whitehaven Castle and visited St Bees four miles away where some trouble for the Earl was being stirred up by the Rev William Wilson MA, the Master of St Bees School and acting Incumbent of the parish. The incident has been recounted in my book St Bees College 1816-1895 and has now been more fully documented and written up by J.M. Todd in his monograph The Headmaster, the Provost and the Earl: the Affair of the St Bees School Mineral Lease, 1812-1817.<sup>32</sup>

The Earl had been caused considerable embarrassment locally by the Head Master who, with the backing of Provost Collinson of Queen's College, was seeking to have set aside as invalid a mineral lease obtained by the Earl's grandfather, Sir James Lowther, in 1742 which was meant to run for 867 years at an annual rent of only £3.10s.! How serious a threat Wilson proved to be to the Earl may be judged from the Court of Chancery's ruling ten years later which required the Earl to pay £5,000 into court representing the capitalized value of revenue lost to the school and causing a new lease to be settled on terms much more favourable to the school. By that time Wilson was happily engaged back in Oxford as a Fellow of Queen's and from 1822-25 as Curate in

charge of St Ebbe's before being appointed Vicar of Holy Rood in Southampton.

In 1816 when Bishop Law visited him, the Earl was trying to get rid of the dogged and troublesome cleric at St Bees. Wilson's office of Master of the school was in the sole gift of the Provost of Queen's so he could not be dismissed by the school governors. They had, however, at a meeting on 28 September 1814 at which the Earl was present, reduced his stipend from £70 to £50 p.a. on the pretext of the expense to which the governors had been put over the enclosure award. He was also subsequently reprimanded for neglect of duty - the charge against him being that he gave school holidays 'whenever it suits his own convenience to have one' - and a report was sent to the Bishop of Chester.<sup>33</sup> As they could not dismiss him, it seems their tactics were to put pressure on him to resign. In May 1815 he was elected a Fellow of Queen's, which indicates he was not without support back in Oxford. The Bishop was also critical of him for he suspected him of being a Calvinist, a theological standpoint Law abhorred, and at his visitation in Whitehaven in 1814 he had rebuked him for extempore preaching and holding meetings in private houses and neglecting regular services at St Bees. The Incumbent was infirm and non-resident, and Wilson had been looking after the parish since his arrival at the school in 1811. It is unlikely he was hoping to be appointed to the living himself for the patron was the Earl of Lonsdale whom he was trying to bring to court!

Wilson engaged in protracted correspondence with Law from May 1814 to obtain a Bishop's Licence. He felt that if the affair of the mineral lease ever reached the Court of Chancery, he ought to be properly



licensed. There were inordinate delays for ostensibly technical reasons but it is apparent from the extant correspondence that a major hold-up was caused by the local clergy who were governors refusing to sign testimonials for him. After two years Wilson informed Collinson that the Bishop was now minded to license him and he quoted from Law's letter:

I wrote about three weeks ago to the Trustees of St Bees School and shall hear from them after their annual meeting. I think I shall then have it in my power to grant you the License you ask for and sincerely do I hope, for the benefit of the School and the comfort of all parties that the Master and the Trustees may in future go on amicably together. The plan you mention (I alluded to a plan I understood the Bishop had in his mind with respect to St Bees in the education of young men for orders) but in the execution of it there would be many difficulties. In answer to the latter part of your letter I can assure you that you may always depend upon my zealous support while you faithfully discharge the duties of your station.<sup>34</sup>

It seems as though a line of the text in the Bishop's original letter is missing at the point where Wilson has interjected his explanatory comment in brackets. It might have read 'The plan you mention [about the school is worthy of fuller consideration] but in the execution of it...' but Wilson did not wish the Provost of Queen's to think his appointee was making far-reaching proposals for the future of the school without consulting him, hence the interjection and missing line. That such a plan was in Wilson's mind has come to light during my research into the founding of CMS Islington. The CMS Minutes record this astonishing entry - 'Sept 25. 1815. Read a letter from the Rev William Wilson dated St Bees Whitehaven Sept 16. 1815, stating at large the circumstances of St Bees School and proposing that a Committee

should be formed in London to attempt the recovery by Law of its rights, in order that it may become a Seminary or College for the training of Clergymen and Missionaries.'<sup>35</sup> The CMS Committee resolved not to get involved - 'it appears expedient that the object and question should be prosecuted by persons on the spot, who are personally acquainted with the circumstances, rather than by those who live at so great a distance and whose interference will be liable to misinterpretation.'<sup>36</sup>

As an Evangelical, Wilson may have thought his suggestion would appeal to CMS but given the Bishop's known disapproval of such societies, this was hardly a wise move! It does, however, show that the idea of a theological college was being mooted by Wilson long before Bishop Law actually did anything. It would seem not unreasonable that Wilson should raise it with his diocesan whose approval he was keen to win anyway. If he didn't, it is a strange coincidence that what Wilson proposed in September 1815 should in fact have been done by Bishop Law a year or so later. In August 1816 Wilson published a new edition of Nowell's Catechism Collectanea Theologica or The Student's Manual of Divinity ostensibly for use in grammar schools for teaching the doctrines of the Church of England. In his introduction to it he wrote of possibly editing 'other treatises of importance for the use of students in divinity, among which Jewell's Apology would call for early attention.' This was conceivably his bid for the post of Principal. If so, it was unsuccessful.

An undated draft letter in the Queen's College archives probably from late 1816 had the news from St Bees 'It has been said here, that Lord Lonsdale has given the curacy of St Bees to a Gentleman of Cambridge,



that he has offered him further preferment, and that he intends this Cambridge man should keep a School or an Academy or a College for the education of boys or of young men in the neighbourhood.'<sup>37</sup> Wilson confirmed this in a letter to Collinson dated 14 January 1817:

It is true that the Curacy has been given to a Cambridge man who intends with the sanction of the Bishop to give Divinity Lectures to young men preparing for Orders, but as far as I can learn he does not mean to instruct in the Languages. A part of the ruins of the Abbey are to be fitted up in two rooms, one for a Lecture room and the other for a Library, this I suppose all at the expense of Lord Lonsdale. What effect this will have upon the School is not yet very evident. But from the idea of its being something like opposition to the School, I believe it has had a temporary effect of deterring some from coming. And the school is I fear about to be lower than ever it was since I came. My own house is still quite full, and I should have no fear in retaining my number, but if this be my only prospect in continuing, I would rather receive boarders in some more independent situation.<sup>38</sup>

Wilson had just three days previously intimated to the Provost his intention of resigning though he did not let this be known in the village and he stayed on until June.

Wilson believed that Bishop Law had connived with the Earl to get him out of St Bees. We know that in March 1816 Wilson had been in touch with the Bishop about some plan to prepare young men for Ordination at St Bees; we know too that the Bishop stayed with the Earl at Whitehaven Castle in July of that year and visited St Bees. In October the Rev William Ainger MA was appointed to the living by the Earl at the Bishop's request and as Wilson later recounted correctly the Earl financed the restoration of the ruined chancel to provide a lecture room and library. The new institution was discerned by Wilson as a

threat to his school though the Bishop was later at pains to prove that this was not the case. It is not inconceivable that the Earl saw an opportunity to be rid of the troublesome headmaster and offered his patronage and financial support to the Bishop as a means to that end. Bishop Law angrily defended himself against the charge of collusion which Wilson later made; he wrote to the Governors of St Bees School on 15 December 1818 giving his account of his dealings with Wilson:

One assertion however of Mr Wilson's I cannot but notice, and it is this. He observes that his School suffered, and that his number of Scholars was diminished in consequence of the Clerical Institution established during his time at St Bees. Whereas the fact is, that the number of Boys under Mr Wilson, before the Institution was formed, amounted to 40, on an average; whereas it has become 80 since the Institution was established, and since Mr Wilson left the School. I cannot however take leave of the subject without complaining, not so much of what is asserted, as of what is insinuated in the evidence given before the Committee. And here, with all deference I must observe, that it is inconsistent with my views of the first principles of justice, that the conduct and motives of anyone, be he who he may be, should be misrepresented by an *ex parte* statement without the person himself being called upon to allow or disprove the facts.. Now no man, I think, can read that part of Mr Wilson's evidence, in which I am concerned, without believing or suspecting, that in my conduct towards him, I had been influenced in a latent wish to serve or [support?] Lord Lonsdale. Whereas the plain truth is, that everything relating to the School property, that even the very existence of the Lease, since so much talked of, was at the time totally unknown to me, and even if it had been mentioned in my presence, was entirely forgotten. I acted towards Mr Wilson exactly as I should have done towards any other Clergyman or Schoolmaster in my Diocese. Lord Lonsdale except from one circumstance is only known to me, as he is to everyone from the high respectability of his character. I acknowledge however, that I received assistance and support from Lord Lonsdale and Lord Lonsdale alone in forming that Clerical Institution



at St Bees, to the establishment of which I shall ever whilst memory lasts, look back with satisfaction. For this I owe Lord Lonsdale a debt of gratitude. But still I am sure, that Lord Lonsdale would be as far, on this account, from expecting any base compliances, as I should be from granting them.<sup>39</sup>

Despite this strong denial, the fact remains the Earl wanted the Bishop's support, and the Bishop received a site for his theological college and financial backing for it. The Earl in addition to helping the Bishop also paid to have an extra storey added onto the foundation building of the school. He was concerned to be seen to be being generous in St Bees at that time. It may be that the Bishop, quite independently of any prompting from Wilson, had St Bees in mind as a possible site for a diocesan training institution because he hoped there would be a steady stream of St Bees schoolboys across the road to his new foundation, along with pupils from the many other grammar schools in the north. In his two volume work published in 1818 A Concise Description of the Endowed Grammar Schools in England and Wales, Nicholas Carlisle listed nineteen in Cumberland and sixteen in Westmorland.<sup>40</sup> Some of these were just tiny village schools but others were notable places of learning such as the one in Ravenstonedale which had produced many ordinands. Certainly it would have been a reasonable assumption that the local grammar schools could provide students for the college.

The Earl gave further financial support in the form of two and a half acres of land on the south and west sides of the church which he sold to the Governors of Queen Anne's Bounty for the nominal sum of five shillings. This became the site of the new parsonage house and its grounds. Bishop Law gave £200 to procure a further £300 from Queen

Anne's Bounty towards the cost of the house for Ainger. A tender of £1,085 from a local builder was accepted in May 1819 and a fitting residence for the Principal was completed in the following year.<sup>41</sup>

It was decided there were to be no collegiate buildings providing the kind of corporate residential life enjoyed by students at the universities. The students were to board in private houses in the village and to meet for worship and tuition each morning at the Priory, for which they paid Ainger a fee of £10 a year. These fees greatly augmented the stipend of the Principal-cum-Incumbent which was £103 p.a. in 1816. The value of the living was never augmented until the College closed in 1895 and therein lay the seeds of its later demise. At the time, the financial arrangements must have seemed highly satisfactory to the Bishop who had acquired a training establishment for his diocese at negligible cost. In 1817, Ainger was appointed by his Cambridge College to the living of Sunninghill in Berkshire which was worth £300 a year, so he became a pluralist in a modest way and in his absence Sunninghill was served by a curate. This preferment also provided him with the means to marry.

Ainger had been at school at Sedbergh and in 1803 entered St John's College Cambridge as a sizar and graduated BA as 6th senior optime in 1807; he was elected a fellow in 1809. One of his college contemporaries was the Rev Henry Martyn, who became a fellow in 1802 and curate to Charles Simeon in 1803 which office he held until he sailed for India in the summer of 1805. In 1810 Ainger became the curate of Beccles in Suffolk, a largish parish of some 3-4,000 souls where he ministered for nearly three years before returning to Cambridge to take up his fellowship. How he became known to Bishop Law



is uncertain though both men had Hertfordshire and Cambridge connections. At the age of thirty-one he was brought north to break new ground in training non-graduates for the Ordained Ministry of the Church of England.

A Welsh student, John Llwyd Richards, who entered the college in 1821, described Ainger as being 'very much respected by all the young men, and indeed it cannot be otherwise as he is so kind to us all' and he indicated that the Bishop of Chester had a more than professional relationship with him, being godfather to Ainger's son who was named George Henry after him.<sup>42</sup> Another early student also from Wales, Evan Evans, whilst disagreeing doctrinally with his Principal spoke highly of him as a teacher: 'I have great pleasure reading the Gospels in the original language and the lectures in the Greek Testament are very interesting. I like the Doctor's method very much; it is exceedingly well calculated to give one a correct view of the literal and spiritual meaning of the Scriptures and I shall never regret for the time I shall have spent at St Bees.'<sup>43</sup>

Having acquired premises and appointed a Principal, the Bishop now had to attract the first students. He did this by inviting Ainger to preach at the Ordination in Chester Cathedral on 22 December 1816. He used the occasion to preach on the 'Pastoral Commission' and the sermon was published two months later. In the dedicatory foreword he wrote:

The superintendence of an INSTITUTION designed to afford direction and assistance, in their presentation for Holy Orders, to those young men in the northern districts of the kingdom, who have it not in their power to seek the advantages of a regular academical education, is indeed, MY LORD, an appointment accompanied with no

ordinary weight of responsibility. Though, however, this consideration must raise my apprehensions, lest I be found inadequate to a charge so serious and important, the excellence, and the expediency, of the undertaking itself, can admit of no dispute: nor will it be denied, that the plan and promotion of such an Establishment, constitute an object well worthy of your Lordship's known zeal for the good of the Church in general, and for the well-being of your own Diocese in particular.<sup>44</sup>

The Bishop was also able to publicize it in 1817 during his visitation of the diocese. His tri-ennial charge that year was a lengthy discourse on the ministerial office and, not surprisingly, the views expressed bear close similarity to those in Ainger's ordination sermon; the two men were of one mind in this matter. The news of the college spread rapidly for in 1817 twenty students were admitted, to be followed by thirty-three more in 1818, and an average of twenty-seven every year for the first decade.

The Bishop referred in his charge to the 'Clerical Institution now fully established at St Bees' as having been 'formed with the view of better preparing for holy orders those candidates, who are precluded from the benefits of an University education.'<sup>45</sup> Nicholas Carlisle included the college in his list of grammar schools in 1818 and was more explicit on this point when he wrote: 'a Clerical Institution... for the better instruction of those Candidates for Holy Orders, who are precluded by their pecuniary circumstances in life, from being able to avail themselves of the benefits of an University education.'<sup>46</sup>

Compared to the universities, the training at St Bees was very cheap - cheaper even than that provided by the Church Missionary Society who in 1814 were paying £20 a year to the Rev Thomas Rogers in Wakefield



for each student he tutored for them, and board and lodging was expected to be about 15s a week.<sup>47</sup> Evan Evans who studied at St Bees from 1822-1824 has left details of his expenses for a full term from 12 September 1823 to 1 January 1824. They amounted to £21. 2s, made up as follows:<sup>48</sup>

Board for 16 weeks @ 13s per week	...£10. 8s
to the Doctor (Ainger)	... 5.
Books	... 2.
Washing for one quarter	... 14s
Pair of Shoes	... 10s
Extras	... 2. 10s
Total	...£21. 2s

There were two terms a year at the College and initially students were expected to stay for two or three terms; only from 1840 did four terms, i.e. two years, become the norm. Students who were much older than the normal undergraduates at university were welcomed; the earliest extant College Calendar is that for 1851 and it states the age limits of the student body were twenty-one and thirty-five.

Whilst the College was intended for poor students and the later admissions registers show that a number of them did come from non-professional backgrounds, it quickly began to attract the Oxbridge dropouts who were wealthy but very lazy and self-indulgent, men such as Sir Richard le Fleming of Rydal Hall, Grasmere who having been sent down from Trinity Hall Cambridge entered St Bees in 1818. When the Rector of the family living of Grasmere died in 1821, his uncle Sir Daniel appointed him to it despite some local opposition. Dorothy Wordsworth reported on him to Edward Quillinan in August 1822:

Sir Richard le Fleming has had the living for some weeks, and is settled in the Parsonage House. He has given us three excellent sermons and two very bad ones - we fear the good are exhausted. My Brother called on him very soon but he has not returned the call. We have heard nothing amiss in his conduct hitherto; but reports of his past are so very bad that we cannot but expect some outbreak, in which case I think Mr. Barber will represent to the Bishop.<sup>49</sup>

His drinking habits and behaviour became so scandalous that he was formally inhibited from performing duty in 1834 though he remained Rector till his death in 1857.

The early students were not restricted to the northern counties as Ainger had expected them to be. The College gained wider publicity through secular publications such as the guide books to the area; the Lake District was becoming well-known for its wild grandeur and the Cumbrian coast for its safe sea-bathing and healthy air. William Green's two volume work of 1819 The Tourist's new Guide containing a Description of the Lakes, Mountains, and Scenery in Cumberland, Westmorland and Lancashire has three pages about the village of St Bees, a picture of its Norman Priory, and it refers explicitly to the College: 'The chancel has been recently roofed and appropriately repaired and fitted up as a divinity school, for the reception of young men intended for the service of the Church; but not designed to finish their studies at Oxford or Cambridge.'<sup>50</sup> Further publicity was gained in 1822 when Ainger was the preacher in Cambridge on Commencement Sunday. The sermon, which defended the view that Christ's title "Son of Man" implied his divinity, was not exceptional in any way but the presence of this particular preacher, described as "Superintendent of the Clerical Institution of St Bees in Cumberland", in the pulpit of



Great St Mary's was advertising the existence of the College in that University and in the south of England. At a later date the Master of Trinity College, Christopher Wordsworth, whilst staying at Rydal Mount wrote to his friend H.H. Norris in Hackney, 'I hear very satisfactory accounts of Mr Ainger and the Institution at St Bees. I should be glad to pay him a visit but as my stay in these parts must be very short, time will not permit.' <sup>51</sup> His brother William, the poet, included the College in one of his Itinerary Poems of 1833:

'Oh, may that Power Who hushed the stormy seas,  
And cleared a way for the first Votaries,  
Prosper the new-born College of St Bees.'

The College's location may have been fortuitously related to the Earl of Lonsdale's troubles but the choice was a happy one. St Bees could lay claim to being one of the most ancient places of Christian worship and learning in the North West. The College Calendars repeated in successive editions what is really a legend, namely that about the year 650 an Irish saint called Bega founded a nunnery there. What is more certain is that tenth century Vikings called the West Cumbrian settlement KIRKBY BECOC - church town of St Bega, and that from the coming of the Normans a Benedictine Priory was established there early in the twelfth century. The village also boasted a Free Grammar School founded by the will of Edmund Grindal, Archbishop of Canterbury, in 1583 who had been born in the parish; the school opened in 1587 four years after his death.

If the College's location seems isolated and remote, it must be remembered that Whitehaven, just four miles away, with a population of nearly 18,000 was second in size only to Carlisle in the county of

Cumberland. For a while in the eighteenth century, it had been the second largest port in England, having grown rich on the tobacco trade with North America, and it still ranked fifth in the country in 1816. William Green could say of it three years later - 'The whole of the streets, lanes, and outlets being newly paved and well lighted, have rendered the avenues to Whitehaven equal in their accommodation to those of any other town in the north of England.'<sup>52</sup> The town had had a weekly newspaper, the Cumberland Pacquet, since 1744 and could boast two banks, a handsome theatre, a library and good markets. Jollie, writing in 1811, had described it in equally favourable terms - 'the streets are spacious and clean, and cut each other at right angles. Buildings are neat, and many of them genteel; the shops exhibit a degree of elegance not often met with in the north.'<sup>53</sup> What both of them omitted to mention were the terrible slums, the breeding ground of diseases, which also existed. The mortality rate was so high in the town in 1848 that a Superintending Inspector of the General Board of Health was sent from London to investigate. What he discovered was 'such an amount of human wretchedness and misery... as few persons in better circumstances would believe existed. Words written or spoken cannot convey to the mind the whole state of things, there must be sight and smell to aid and inform the imagination. The pen of novelist never yet depicted such a depth of utter wretchedness.'<sup>54</sup>

More importantly for the College's future, Whitehaven was an important centre of communications with regular coach and carrier services inland to Carlisle, Penrith, Ulverston and Kendal; a daily mail coach ran from the Black Lion Inn to Liverpool, Manchester and London, via Keswick, Ambleside and Kendal. And there were regular



sailings to Liverpool. 'Sea transport, both of passengers and freight was particularly cheap... the fare from Whitehaven to Liverpool was 15s by first cabin and 10s. 6d by second cabin in the Highland Chieftain in 1821, whilst the corresponding fare for the same journey by the Independent post coach in 1824 was 24s inside and 17s outside.'<sup>55</sup> Getting to St Bees was not the formidable problem it might at first have seemed to be.

The men came from and returned to the four corners of the kingdom. Founded as a diocesan institution, it at once began to furnish the needs of other dioceses in England and of the Church of England overseas. In the first five years of the College's existence, its students were ordained to minister in over twenty counties from Cornwall to Northumberland, and from the first student intakes of 1817 and 1818 men went to serve in the colonies and on foreign mission fields. It did also assist Bishop Law, as originally intended, in his quest for better trained clergy. His Act Books record that of the eighteen Deacons he ordained in 1818 St Bees provided eight of them, in 1819 ten of the twenty-two were from the College, in 1820 five of the twelve were, in 1821 twelve of the thirty-nine were, and in 1822 just five of the twenty-nine were. It was fitting that the first St Bees man or 'Literate' as they were denominated whom the Bishop ordained on 12 December 1817 was Jeremiah Walker. He had come from an isolated Lakeland settlement and he returned to serve in one as Curate of Seathwaite, becoming Perpetual Curate of the adjoining parish of Ulpha in 1821 where he stayed till 1866.

The Clerical Institution at St Bees eased the problem of inadequately trained clergymen in the diocese of Chester but in no way did it solve

it. Law's successor, Bishop Blomfield, enumerated in his first charge, delivered in the autumn of 1825, the evils with which the Church had to contend, amongst them he included the admission of unsuitable candidates to Holy Orders. The echoes of episcopal charges throughout the previous century ring in his words:

With regard to the admission of candidates for holy orders, I have already informed you, that I wish to have three months notice, at least, from every person who intends to present himself to me in that character. My object, in making this regulation, is, to obtain sufficient time for instituting a strict enquiry into the character and pursuits of those, who are desirous of entering the ministry; being persuaded that nothing more contributes to the purity and usefulness of our Church, than to secure, as far as is possible, the respectability of the clergy, by a careful scrutiny into the principles and habits of those who seek for admission into the sacred order, and by unyielding firmness in rejecting the unworthy. And here I most earnestly entreat you, my brethren, as you value the welfare of the Church, the interests of religion, and the ease of your own consciences, to exercise the greatest caution in signing testimonials for holy orders. They are almost the only formal security, as to moral character, which we have against the intrusion of improper persons into the ministry.<sup>56</sup>

Blomfield's son and biographer records of him:

One of his first acts was to raise the character of examinations for holy orders... He also took care "to inquire particularly whether the title is a bona fide title; whether the specified salary is to be paid in full, or whether any deductions are to be made; not to ordain any person who has been in the navy, army or trade," nor anyone who has not a University degree, except the students of St Bees College; and to discourage, if not in all cases actually to refuse, applications from Irish candidates, who, under a less vigilant episcopate, are certain to inundate a diocese so conveniently situated as that of Chester.<sup>57</sup>



Writing to H.H. Norris on 2 September 1824, Blomfield complained that Law had ordained too many clergy and said, 'I have been overwhelmed with applications from Candidates for Holy Orders; and most glad I am, that I required two months notice, it has given me time for enquiry and the result has been the rejection of about fifteen applicants, schoolmasters, attorney's clerks, decayed merchants, etc who thought to take advantage of the peculiar circumstances of this diocese, which render it necessary to admit literates into the Church.'<sup>58</sup>

He stayed too brief a time at Chester to effect any major or lasting reforms in that diocese or to help develop and watch over the College at St Bees. The Evangelical John Bird Sumner, subsequently Archbishop of Canterbury, followed him and not surprisingly when Ainger died in 1840 he appointed a notable Evangelical from within the diocese as Principal - the Rev Robert Peddar Buddicom, the sixty year old Minister of St George's Everton. By that time four hundred and seventy-eight students had been at the College and four lecturers had assisted the Principal. The most famous of these was Richard Parkinson who became a fellow of the Collegiate Church of Manchester in 1833. On Parkinson's arrival in 1826, a set of 'Rules and Regulations for Preserving Order among the Students of St Bees College' was devised. (See Vol 2 Appendix 3 A) The tuition fee was doubled at this time from £10 to £20 a year with the result that the number of applicants dropped.

The number of applicants, however, rose sharply on Buddicom's appointment - two hundred and seventy-three men were admitted in his six years. He brought with him from Everton as lecturer and subsequently vice-principal his curate David Anderson who in 1849 was consecrated the first Bishop of Rupertsland in Canada. With the founding of the St

Bees College Missionary Association in 1841, the work of overseas mission and of CMS in particular received more active support among the staff and students than previously.

On Buddicom's death Canon Richard Parkinson returned as the Principal, retaining his stall at Manchester which caused some public controversy. Among the changes he made were the addition of a Classical Department to the existing Theological one and the appointment of more staff. He also introduced the office of Librarian to which the top student at the Easter examinations was appointed with some pecuniary advantages accruing to that man as well as a certain status. Student numbers stayed high; there were two intakes a year, at the beginning of the Easter and Michaelmas terms. The numbers admitted each year from 1847 to 1850 were fifty-three, fifty-one, fifty-five and sixty-five. 1851 saw the largest number ever admitted in the history of the College - sixty-six - which with the previous year's intake meant there were one hundred and thirty-one students resident in the little village. Numerically St Bees was on a par with the largest Oxbridge colleges and its lecturers were equally well qualified; some of the students too, but for their penury, could have enjoyed glittering academic success at Oxbridge. Such a one was Robert Roberts, a poor ill-starred scholar of the Welsh language.<sup>59</sup>

Parkinson, perhaps desiring to model St Bees even more on an Oxbridge college, wished to make it a residential institution and at the laying of the foundation stone of a new hotel in the village in October 1846, he said:

Considerable inconvenience exists in the village for want of proper accommodation for Students, many of whom are obliged to reside out of the village, some even as far off as Cleator... I am not without



hopes that before long some publicly spirited capitalist will see it to be his interest to erect a large and commodious building for the accommodation of Students. I believe it will be a safe and good investiture, at all events it is greatly needed, and I have no doubt but that it will be carried into effect.<sup>60</sup>

In the event he was proved wrong and the students - some of them married men with families - continued to live in houses approved by the Principal in or near the village. One of his Manchester friends in a brief biography of him claimed that he attempted about this time to get a Charter of Incorporation from the Government for the College which would have permitted it to grant degrees in theology but it came to nothing as Parkinson refused to allow the College to be placed under the management of a Council, partly lay and partly clerical.<sup>61</sup> The College was in effect a piece of private enterprise run by the Incumbent of the parish who was also the College Principal, and Parkinson was not willing to forego any of his authority over it or any of the profits.

One of the staff members appointed by Buddicom who continued under Parkinson was Charles Wright Woodhouse MA whose memories of Cambridge we have already drawn on. He has left this sketch of college life in his time:

The daily course of the college business was as follows, men attended, in cap and gown, morning prayers at nine in the nave, the candidates reading the lessons by turns on week days. The men then assembled in the large lecture room, ready to be called in to meet the college staff in the library. These interviews included the settlement in many cases of future curacies for the senior men, advice about particular private studies to be pursued and the keeping of the general rules of the college, especially visits made to Whitehaven and Egremont for trade purposes where they had their

gowns. One student being reprov'd for having been reported for being in Whitehaven without his gown asked the reason for that particular college rule. He was informed that it was to indicate that they were "gentlemen". The said student replied, "Do you think, Sir," addressing the Principal, "that I could ever be taken without my gown for anything but a gentleman?" Lectures went on from ten to twelve in the two rooms and the Library according to the programme issued at the beginning of each term. Saturday morning was reserved for the composition of skeletal sermons written in our presence. The fourth term men wrote full sermons, left them at our houses and received them back with remarks in the Library. The lectures were theological but any students who were deficient in elementary classics had extra lessons in the houses of the lecturers. All were understood to dine in the middle of the day and take exercise in the afternoons.<sup>62</sup>

The influence of Oxbridge where the staff had themselves been educated is unmistakeable. A student from this time has recorded the details of the curriculum - 'The books we read in the first two terms were the Greek Gospels, Grotius de Veritate, Lectures on Church History, Paley's Evidences, Marsh's Bible-Criticism, Butler's Analogy, and the Historical Books of the Old Testament, Browne on the Articles. We had lectures on these subjects daily, on some days two lectures were given, which with chapel lasted till about twelve; the rest of the day was our own.'<sup>63</sup> Another much used book in Ainger's time was Tomline's Elements of New Testament Theology.

Such were their academic studies. None of the Principals, however, exploited the rich potential offered by the parish itself as a training ground for future ministers of the Gospel apart from letting the occasional senior student assist at a service in one of the chapels in the parish. There is no evidence of students ever being involved in any kind of pastoral work. The untapped potential lay in the size of the



parish and the wide social mix found within its borders, for it included not just the fashionable village of St Bees and a number of tiny rural settlements but also the industrial town and port of Whitehaven with slums as crowded and unhealthy as anything to be found in any large northern city. The poorest part of the town remained under the direct pastoral care of the St Bees clergy until a church was built for the people there in 1847 and one of the St Bees Curates who had been trained at the College, John Rimmer, was given responsibility for it. The parish offered the students the potential of gaining early experience of both urban and rural ministry at a time when the Established Church was on the retreat on both those fronts. The parish was a microcosm of the diocese, a mission area of manageable proportions, a fertile training ground in practical pastoralia. Sadly that potential was never realized.

#### NOTES

- 1 G.H. Law Charge to the Clergy of the Diocese of Chester, 1820 p.28
- 2 Law had reluctantly encouraged evening services (Charge 1820 p.8f); they succeeded so well that Bishop Blomfield reported in his Primary Visitation Charge 1825 p.7 that only 60 churches of the 620 in the diocese had only one service on a Sunday,
- 3 The home of the wealthy Curwen family,
- 4 The Whitehaven home of the Earl of Lonsdale,
- 5 S.H. Cassan Lives of the Bishops of Bath and Wells, Vol 2 p.184
- 6 C.J. Blomfield Primary Visitation Charge to the Clergy of Chester Diocese 1825 p.27
- 7 J. Addy Two Eighteenth Century Bishops of Chester and their Diocese, Unpublished MA Thesis Leeds University 1972 p.281
- 8 E. Baines History, Directory and Gazetteer of the County Palatine of Lancaster, Vol 1 pp.109-110
- 9 S. Peploe Charge to the Clergy of the Diocese of Chester, 1747 p.
- 10 Chester Record Office EDA 2/5-8

- 11 B. Porteus Charge at a Primary Visitation, 1778 p.9 During his tenure of the see Porteus instituted 120 graduates to livings, and 176 non-graduates were licensed to perpetual curacies or as assistant curates,
- 12 Anon Free and Apposite Observations,, p.19
- 13 B. Porteus Directions relating to Orders, Institutions etc. p.2
- 14 ibid pp.3-4
- 15 J. Addy op cit, pp.138-140 Porteus issued similar instructions immediately after his appointment as Bishop of London in 1789,
- 16 B. Porteus On the Advantages of an Academical Education, in Vol 2 of The Works of the Rt Rev Beilby Porteus DD. pp.195-196
- 17 R. Hodgson Life of Beilby Porteus, 3rd ed pp.287-289
- 18 W. Cleaver A List of Books. p.4
- 19 T. Burgess Vindications of the late Bishop of St Asaph. p.67
- 20 W. Cleaver Charge to the Clergy of the Diocese of Chester, 1799 p.12
- 21 Chester Record Office Bishop's Act Books EDA 1
- 22 R.B. Walker Religious Changes in Cheshire 1750-1850. p.79
- 23 Cleaver Charge 1799 p.2; Majendie Charge 1804 p.13; Law Charge 1814 p.30
- 24 G.H. Law A Charge... at a Primary Visitation, 1814 p.31
- 25 Chester Record Office Bishop's Act Book EDA 1
- 26 C.M.L. Bouch + G.P. Jones A short economic and social History of the Lake Counties 1500-1830. p.261
- 27 B.E. Harris ed Victoria County History of the County of Cheshire, Vol 3 p.57
- 28 C.M.L. Bouch Prelates and People of the Lake Counties. p.381
- 29 G.H. Law op cit. pp.24-25
- 30 E.A. Payne ed Studies in History and Religion. pp.232-237 See also I. Parker Dissenting Academies in England; H. McLachlan English Education under the Test Acts; and O. Chadwick The Popes and the European Revolution.
- 31 E. Baines op cit. Vol 2 p.507
- 32 J.M. Todd in Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian Society lxxxiii (1983) pp.163-171
- 33 Queen's College Oxford SC (C) 8 Younger to Collinson 1 Aug 1815
- 34 ibid SC (C) 10 Wilson to Collinson March 1816
- 35 University of Birmingham Special Collections Dept CMS Committee Minutes G/C/1 Vol 2 p.381
- 36 ibid
- 37 Queen's College Oxford SC (C) 13
- 38 ibid SC (C) 15 Wilson to Collinson 14 Jan 1817
- 39 ibid SC (C) 23 Bishop Law to St Bees School Governors 15 Dec 1818
- 40 N. Carlisle A Concise Description of the endowed Grammar Schools of England and Wales Vol 1 pp.152-205 and Vol 2 pp.694-739
- 41 Church Commissioners MSS St Bees Benefice Papers
- 42 National Library of Wales Cwrtmawr MSS No 872c 19 February 1821
- 43 ibid No 534d 26 March 1824 See also Mary Ellis in Transactions CWAAS liii (1953) pp.190-201
- 44 W. Ainger A Sermon at a General Ordination. pp.iii-iv
- 45 G.H. Law Charge... Chester, 1817 p.34
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- 47 C. Hole Early History of the Church Missionary Society. p.120
- 48 NL Wales op cit. No 534d 22 February 1824
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- 53 F. Jollie Cumberland Guide and Directory, 2nd Part
- 54 R. Rawlinson in the Whitehaven Herald April 1849 Report on the Sanitary Condition  
of the Town of Whitehaven,
- 55 L.A. Williams Road Transport in Cumbria in the Nineteenth Century, p.133
- 56 C.J. Blomfield op cit, pp.28-30
- 57 A. Blomfield Memoir of Bishop Blomfield, Vol 1 pp.102-103
- 58 Bodleian Norris MS op cit, f.127 2 September 1824
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- 60 Whitehaven Herald 3 October 1846
- 61 F.S. Raines Lives of the Fellows and Chaplains of the College of Manchester,  
Chetham Society Remains Vol 22 pp.368-369
- 62 C.W. Woodhouse MS Memoirs pp.18-19
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## THE CHURCH MISSIONARY INSTITUTION, ISLINGTON

'Is it practicable or expedient to form an Institution for educating young men professedly with a view to their becoming Missionaries under the sanction of the Established Church?'

This was the question discussed by fourteen Evangelical clergymen of the Church of England who met at Ranceby Vicarage in Lincolnshire on 30 September and 1 October 1795. They belonged to a discussion society called *The Eclectics* which had been founded in London twelve years previously for 'religious intercourse and improvement'.<sup>2</sup> The subject was discussed again at their meetings in February and March 1799 when one of those present, Mr Charles Grant, urged the founding of a Missionary Seminary. On 12 April 1799 nine laymen and sixteen clergymen (nine of them Eclectics) met at the Castle and Falcon Inn, Aldersgate Street, 'for the purpose of Instituting a Society amongst the Members of the Established Church for sending Missionaries among the heathen.'<sup>3</sup> John Venn, the Rector of Clapham, where many of the leading Evangelicals lived and worshipped, chaired the meeting. Such was the conception of the Church Missionary Society; its birth was a protracted affair as it took more than a year to gain tentative, cautious approval from the Archbishop of Canterbury for what was proposed. The first Secretary of the Society was a noted Evangelical Biblical Commentator, the Rev Thomas Scott who was succeeded on 8 December 1802 by another founding member, the Rev Josiah Pratt, in whose church vestry at St John's Bedford Row the Eclectics normally held their fortnightly meetings.

No missionary candidates volunteered for service in the first year of



the Society's life but at the first Annual Meeting, held on 26 May 1801 in the New London Tavern, the Committee reported on its deliberations about the selection and training of candidates:

It is obvious, that the Church of England can allow no person to officiate, in any respect, as Ministers, who have not been episcopally ordained. Episcopal ordination, bearing respect to the present improved state of society in this island, is justly conferred upon those only, whose education and learning qualify them for the rank, which the English clergy hold in society. It is evident, however, that a Missionary, dwelling amongst savages rude and illiterate, does not require the same kind of talents, manners or learning, as are necessary in an officiating Minister in England. But ordination admits not of distinctions correspondent to the degree of refinement in society. He who is at once episcopally ordained, though with the sole view of acting as a Missionary to the Heathen, would possess the power of officiating, and holding any benefice to which he might be presented, in the English Church. This circumstance necessarily requires extreme caution, in ordaining persons for the purpose of Missions only. For, what security can be afforded, that a person of inferior station, offering himself upon this ground for orders, is not influenced by the desire of a more elevated rank in society, or of a life of greater ease, rather than by a pure zeal for the salvation of the Heathen? To obviate this difficulty, which lies in the way of sending Missionaries episcopally ordained, the conductors of the present Institution have recourse to the expedient of sending their Missionaries in the capacity of Catechists only; where persons already in holy orders do not offer themselves, or circumstances do not justify an application for regular ordination.<sup>4</sup>

In its desire to preserve the old social order of clergyman and to send out catechists, the Society was following the example of the oldest Anglican missionary society, the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. When no English candidates volunteered in the following year, the Committee again copied SPCK's earlier practice by

looking to Germany for suitable men. At the second Annual Meeting, it was reported that a Missionary Seminary had recently been founded in Berlin where six students were already in training under the superintendence of a Lutheran pastor, the Rev John Jaenicke.<sup>5</sup>

The priorities Jaenicke had set himself as an educator were to help the students acquire 'a complete knowledge of the Scriptures' and the mastery of Latin, English, Dutch and French. However, neither of the first two students to come to London to meet the CMS Committee could speak English! These were Melchior Renner and Peter Hartwig who were ordained as Lutheran Ministers in Germany and in 1804 were 'accepted as Missionaries of the Society, to be employed as Ministers of a Sister Communion to the Church of England, after the example of the Venerable Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.'<sup>6</sup> Financial support was made available to the Berlin Seminary for four more students to be trained on behalf of the Society. The Committee justified this action on these grounds: 'It appears very desirable to your Committee, to continue these Students in the Seminary till they have fully completed their necessary preparation; as their situation there, the paternal care with which their minds are formed, (an advantage, as your Committee judge, of incalculable importance in the education of a Missionary) and the habits of the Institution, are better adapted to dispose their minds for missionary labours, than any situation which could be procured for them in the kingdom.'<sup>7</sup>

At a meeting of the Committee on 6 May 1805, the Secretary read a 'Memoir on the expediency of educating English Missionaries', and it was resolved that the Secretary should 'inquire amongst the Country Correspondents, whether they know of any fit person whom they could



recommend to the Society as proper to be adopted by them in order to fit and prepare them for Missionaries in their service, by a suitable education and regular ordination.'<sup>8</sup> In the following year a sub-committee was set up to explore the possibility of 'forming a Missionary Institution in this Country, for the education of future missionaries.'<sup>9</sup> One of those approached for advice and help was the Rev Thomas Scott, now the Rector of Aston Sandford, who met with the Committee on 4 August 1806. He was asked if he could undertake this educational work. He declined to take it on alone but suggested a former governor of Sierre Leone, Mr William Dawes, who resided nearby at Bledlow in Buckinghamshire, where the Rector was Nathaniel Gilbert a former chaplain at Sierre Leone. If the Committee approved his suggestion, he 'had no objection to receive them once a week and do what lay in his power to compleat their education.'<sup>10</sup>

Dawes met the Committee in September but could not make up his mind though he was disposed to offer to 'instruct them in the rudiments of Latin, in English and in the Mathematics.'<sup>11</sup> The Secretary was directed to approach the Rev Legh Richmond, Rector of Turvey in Bedfordshire and a notable supporter of CMS, to see if he would take it on. At their October meeting, the Committee received letters from Dawes and Richmond and decided that the former's proposal was 'most eligible', and in November they agreed to allow him '£45 per annum for the maintenance and education of each Missionary Student, if the number should be six or more; and an advance of £5 each, if the number should be under six, and that they do further agree to allow him £30 for the necessary arrangements in his house to accommodate the said Missionaries.'<sup>12</sup> Reporting this development at the Annual Meeting in

1807, the Committee stated that their reason for establishing a Missionary Seminary in England was that 'it would give them an opportunity of becoming more intimately acquainted with the students preparing for their service, than they could possibly be by the reports of other persons; and would also offer suitable accommodation to any young men at home, who might be inclined to prepare for Missionary Labours.'<sup>13</sup>

Four German Lutheran candidates were under Mr Dawes's care for a short time only, as in October 1807 he moved from Bledlow to take up a government appointment in Sierre Leone. Thomas Scott at nearby Aston Sandford was asked to take over. He could not accommodate the students in his rectory so with the Committee's blessing, he found a suitable host at Haddenham a mile away in the person of Mr George West who agreed to take the missionary candidates into his house for £35 each a year.<sup>14</sup>

In a letter to the Committee dated 5 November 1807, Scott set out his plan for training the men who were to come to him:

I mean to allow them about an hour every day, and to put them in a way of improving the rest of their time to advantage, as in general they may continue with me during the forenoon, or come to me when they will, to ask me any questions or to remove any difficulties which they meet with. I purpose to take different subjects for my observations on each day; one or two for English (always keeping that in sight); one for expounding some parts of Scripture; another for lecturing in Divinity in a more systematic manner, making my Essays the text; another for reading and making observations on the diaries of missionaries, or the history of Missions. In addition to this I purpose that they shall constantly attend my morning family prayer, in which I have long been in the habit of expounding the New Testament, with some reference to the instruction of those who are to



be ministers, for the benefit of my sons while with me...'<sup>s</sup>

One of Scott's sons recalled that period of his father's life at Aston Sandford: 'The persons who came under his instruction in this capacity were several of them Englishmen, who have since received ordination; but the majority, Germans, in general Lutheran clergymen. The progress they made in their studies was highly creditable; in some instances remarkable. I remember to have visited Aston, when four of them, who had come to my father with scarcely any knowledge of language beyond their mother tongue, were reading Cicero and Horace, the Greek tragedians, the Hebrew prophets, and the Koran (Arabic), all in the originals.'<sup>16</sup> Pratt wrote in June 1808 asking Scott to begin teaching the missionaries Susoo and Arabic, neither of which language he then knew, so at the age of 61 he had to start learning them himself! It wasn't until April 1809 that the Committee agreed to pay him £20 p.a. for each student's tuition - payment being backdated to Christmas 1807. The Committee also agreed in 1810 to allow each missionary £5 a year 'for pocket money during their stay in England.'

It was now that the first English candidates who would be ordained in the Church of England were accepted by the Society. Thomas Norton, a married man and a shoe-maker by trade, who had studied some Greek was accepted in October 1809. The Committee considered sending him to university but Scott argued against this on the grounds that university life was not conducive to the cultivation of the right missionary spirit. Norton and his wife went to Aston Sandford instead. William Greenwood, a blanket manufacturer from Dewsbury was accepted in 1811 and sent to Scott's seminary. The Committee's report to the Annual Meeting in 1812 commented on the progress of the English students: 'Mr

Norton and Mr Greenwood have continued during the last year to pursue their studies, much to the satisfaction of their worthy teacher. Three other students are engaged, who will be placed under Mr Scott's care in a few months.'<sup>17</sup> The report ended with an appeal to clergy and other members of the Church of England to foster vocations and the promise was made that 'Young men not already in Holy Orders, if of suitable spirit and capacity, will be put under a course of education, and measures taken to procure them admission, when well qualified, into Holy Orders.'

The Society was now to encounter a major difficulty, namely finding an English Bishop who would be willing to ordain their candidates. Scott would have liked to have had Norton as his own Curate but his parish lay in the diocese of Lincoln and Bishop Tomline disapproved strongly of Calvinistic Evangelicals such as Scott. Archbishop Harcourt of York eventually ordained Norton but only after closely examining him on certain points of Calvinist doctrine. Norton wrote with relief: 'Through mercy I was enabled to answer the Archbishop either in Scripture language or that of our Articles'<sup>18</sup> and was duly ordained to the curacy of St Saviour's York. Bishop Law of Chester was another critic of CMS as he had a strong aversion to itinerant preachers among whom he numbered CMS deputation speakers, yet a Cheshire clergyman succeeded in getting Greenwood ordained to the curacy of Knutsford in that diocese on Trinity Sunday 1813. Law did not carry out the ordination himself but issued Letters Dimissory to the Bishop of Salisbury. In September 1814 Greenwood was ordained priest at Chester but indicated in a letter that this was no mere formality, he had first to pass 'a very strict examination' which lasted three days.



Another candidate who applied to the Bishop of Chester two years later was refused ordination. He had been offered the curacy of Knaresborough by the Rev Andrew Cheap but Law refused to have him as long as he was a CMS man. The candidate, Mr Collier, detailed the circumstances in a letter to the Committee dated Dewsbury 26 September 1815. The Bishop had made no objections to his character or attainments but declined to ordain him on the grounds of his former occupation, though he was willing to countersign his testimonials.

Seeing that his Lordship knew my future destination, I said, My Lord I have had these thoughts for years past and I hope to be a Missionary; for I cannot remain in England. His reply was that it is a laudable work and I might join those without the pale of the Establishment for they sent many out without being ordained. I told him, I could not on principle; to which he added, if I would be a Missionary, if I chose, he would ordain me for the Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge among the Heathen. He told me the places to which I might go and the salary I might have and free of all expenses. I answered him as follows: I highly venerate that Honourable Society, for it has been very useful, yet, I having engaged with the Society under whose patronage I am, I could not forsake it. '9

The Secretary wrote encouraging him to be patient and to ask his tutor, Mr Buckworth, to look out for a curacy for him in the diocese of York.

In 1813 Scott repeatedly begged the Committee to make some alternative arrangements for training candidates. In a letter dated 13 November 1813, written to a clergyman who was thinking of offering to succeed him, he said: 'I have not given up the tuition of the missionaries, though I have urged the Committee to look out for and form a more permanent seminary. Were I able, and external matters convenient to their reception, I should count it the best employment

of my latter days.'<sup>20</sup> Of his teaching methods he wrote:

But I only teach languages in ordine ad teaching divinity. The missionaries as they have hitherto come to me, have been pious men, but superficial theologians; and my morning expositions have been their lectures on divinity - I hope to good use. This part, therefore, in whatever form it is put, must be the main object.<sup>21</sup>

The Society's Accounts dated 31 March 1813 record that it had cost £622. 10s. 3d for the 'Maintenance, Clothes and Travelling Expenses of Students in the Seminary of Aston Sandford.' And a further £45 had been paid for students in the seminary in Berlin. When the Committee gave its Annual report in 1814, there was a section headed 'Seminary' which read: 'the Committee are now looking for a Clergyman, as Head of the family, and Tutor to the Society's Students. He will be required to instruct in the English Language such foreign Clergymen as may be engaged by the society; and to assist young men in their preparation, who are going abroad as Schoolmasters. Such English Clergymen as may engage themselves to the Society as Missionaries will be instructed in the Seminary, so far as is practicable; in the languages of the countries to which they may be destined; the Society possessing the means of thoroughly initiating them in the chief Oriental Tongues.'<sup>22</sup>

At the Committee's meeting on 9 May 1814, the Secretary read a letter from the Rev John Buckworth of Dewsbury offering to receive two of the Society's English students under his care. The offer was accepted and he was asked to take three - Messrs Bailey, Collier and Dawson. At the same time a sub-committee was set up 'to consider the means of obtaining more facilities for the Ordination of Missionaries in the Church of England and to adopt such Measures as they may think expedient for promoting this object, and report thereon to the



Committee.'<sup>23</sup> The Rev J.W. Cunningham addressed a paper on this subject to the Archbishop of Canterbury entitled Church of England Missions.

On 23 May 'Mr Benjamin Jowett recommended the Rev Mr Knight of Halifax as a proper Tutor for the preparation of the Society's Students for Holy Orders.'<sup>24</sup> And on the same day the Rev Thomas Rogers of Wakefield agreed to receive Mr David Evans under his care and offered to take a second missionary student; in August Henry Baker was sent to him. Rogers had just resigned as Headmaster of Wakefield Grammar School and wished to take a few private pupils, preferably ordinands; he charged the Society £20 a year for each student's tuition.

At the Annual Meeting in 1815, the Committee was able to report that nine English students were in training for ordination and many more than could be accepted were volunteering to work for the Society. 'The Committee had too often to complain, in past years, that so few offered themselves to this service. They have now to report, that the number of candidates is so great, that they do not feel themselves warranted, even by the present flourishing state of the funds, to embrace all the desirable offers of service which are made to them.'<sup>25</sup> Apart from the cost of their tuition and keep, each student was given an annual allowance of £20 for 'clothes and sundries.'

Dewsbury now became the largest centre for training CMS candidates. Buckworth informed the Committee in July 1815 that he had secured important curacies for his three students and now recommended as missionary candidates 'three other young men, viz James Nowell, James Appleyard, and Joseph Bailey a brother of Benjamin Bailey. He also recommends the Rev Mr Parkin, now settled in Dewsbury, as the Classical

Tutor of the Missionaries and that they should live in his house; he himself undertaking the office of Divinity Tutor.<sup>26</sup> The Committee accepted these three on six months trial under the care of Mr Parkin but urged Buckworth not to encourage others unless they were particularly promising young men. Parkin offered to take up to six students in his house, and two men were transferred to him from Wakefield when Rogers left them without tuition to go on vacation. Parkin asked for forty guineas p.a. for each student's board and lodging.<sup>27</sup>

The students in Yorkshire now presented the Committee in London with a new problem. Buckworth reported that one of his students, Mr Dawson, had 'formed an attachment' to the sister of another student, Mr Bailey. He described her as 'a young woman of excellent character and qualification.' The Committee resolved to 'agree to their marriage in due time; and desire to know whether Messrs Collier and Bailey have, in this respect, contracted any engagements; and wish it to be understood, as a fixed rule hereafter, that no steps whatsoever must be taken toward contracting such engagements without the previous consent of the Committee.' This kind of discipline was to become the standard practice in theological colleges in the Church of England.

The Rev Thomas Whitaker of Ringway near Altrincham also had three probationary students under his care in 1815, one of whom, Mr Silk, he recommended strongly to the Committee 'that he should receive the advantages of a College Education, as likely to render him a Clergyman of superior order.'<sup>28</sup> Others who assisted with training at this time were the Rev William Sharpe of Yaxham, the Rev J. Clarke of Hull, the Rev J. Jessop of York and the Rev H. Gauntlett of Olney.



The Society was now in a period of expansion which was to continue thanks largely to the exertions of an Assistant Secretary appointed in 1815 who nine years later succeeded Josiah Pratt as Clerical Secretary. He was to play a major role in the training of candidates and in the founding of the College at Islington. The Committee at its meeting on 14 and 15 August 1815 accepted Pratt's recommendation that Mr Edward Bickersteth be appointed his assistant and be available to travel the country promoting the Society's interests, as well as working at the office in Salisbury Square which had been acquired in 1812. More importantly, the Committee resolved:

That Mr and Mrs Bickersteth be requested to take the Superintendence of the Society's House; that such students as may be at any time in London be lodged and boarded in the House; that the whole of the Second Floor be appropriated to Mr and Mrs Bickersteth and the servants; that they be allowed £200 per annum on the presumption of his obtaining Orders, (including £40 paid by the Secretary) as Salaries for Clothes, washing and other personal expenses; that Mr Bickersteth act as the Divinity Tutor of the Students, and prepare and read to them Lectures on their office; and that he render to the Secretary such aid in his Ministerial duty as he may need, and engage in no other without his concurrence; that he spend six or seven hours a day in the office or such other time as the Society's business may require, except on Saturdays when much duty may devolve on him on the succeeding day, when he shall be at liberty; and that the Committee of Accounts be requested to superintend the House Expenses, and to make all other requisite arrangements.<sup>29</sup>

The Committee also wanted him to leave for West Africa to do an on-the-spot tour of inspection 'with all convenient speed'! Clearly he was going to need boundless energy if he was to do everything expected of him. Owen Chadwick has described him as the 'most colourful and godly of the Evangelical clergy'<sup>30</sup> and Michael Hennell called him 'the Keble

of Victorian Evangelicalism'.<sup>31</sup> He was born in 1786 at Kirkby Lonsdale in Westmorland, the fourth son of a local doctor. At the age of fourteen he left the local Grammar School to work in the Post Office in London where he soon went over to working as an articled clerk in a solicitor's office. In 1812 he married Sarah Bignold, the daughter of a Norwich solicitor where he became junior partner in his father-in-law's firm. In London he had become friends with Josiah Pratt. When he moved to Norwich, he helped found a CMS Association there, persuading Bishop Bathurst to become the patron and inviting Pratt and the Rev Daniel Wilson to the city to speak. It was at Pratt's urging that he agreed to become his assistant and to seek ordination from the Bishop of Norwich.

In a letter to Pratt he described his first interview with the Bishop:

After I had explained my desire of entering the ministry, he dwelt upon the importance of an University education, and that it could only be dispensed with in particular cases. He then said that all he had heard of me was in my favour, but he must make further enquiries; and if those were satisfactory, and I went to a private clergyman for tuition for a year and a half, he might have no objection to ordain me. I told him, generally, how important it was to me to be ordained earlier, and that I had been accustomed to read a chapter frequently in the Greek Testament, and had lately attended to studies preparatory to the ministry. He said, "Perhaps you might be ordained by next Trinity, which would not be quite a year." I did not like to press the matter further as to time. He then asked me if I could refer him to any Norwich clergyman... He then recommended to me several books; Pearson on the Creed; Burnet on the XXXIX Articles; Tomline's Elements; Grotius, Pyle, and Clarke's Paraphrase. He dwelt on the necessity of being able to write Latin with correctness; and complained of the ignorance of many who came to him for Ordination.<sup>32</sup>

Bickersteth passed the Bishop's examination later that same year



'very comfortably, without embarrassment, and to the perfect satisfaction of the examiner. I stated some of the great doctrines of the Bible, translated the Greek Testament, Grotius and a Latin article, and wrote a Latin and also an English theme.'<sup>33</sup> Not bad for a man who had left school at fourteen! It also shows that the Bishop made sure his ordination candidates had a certain classical and Biblical competence. He was ordained Deacon on 10 December 1815 by Bathurst, and Priest a few days later by Bishop Henry Ryder of Gloucester. On 24 January 1816 he was on his way to Sierre Leone. On his return to England, he began the work to which he had originally been appointed, namely travelling the country on behalf of CMS, working at headquarters in London, and being Principal of the training institution set up in his own home.

In November 1816 the Committee approved a set of 'Family Regulations in the Church Missionary House' (See Vol 2 Appendix 4 A) which fixed what each student should be doing from the time he rose at 6 am until 10 pm when he retired; two hours were allowed for recreation each afternoon. There must have been long periods, however, when no lectures were given as Bickersteth was away on CMS business.

The 1817 Annual Report records that there had been no less than fifty offers of service that year and the Committee was having to 'scrutinize with peculiar care the motives which led to these numerous offers' because of 'the general want of employment'. As sponsors of candidates naturally thought well of their own particular nominee and expected him to be accepted, the Committee had established it as a -

General Rule, to admit no one as a Missionary Candidate, until he has resided in the House of the Society, under the eyes of the Secretaries and the Committee, and has been exercised in the studies

suited to the purpose, for a length of time sufficient to enable them to form a judgement of his spirit and qualifications. The House of the Society has been fitted up for this purpose; and for the accommodation of Missionaries and Schoolmasters, while preparing for their future destination. A number of students, and several clergymen, are pursuing their preparation, in different parts of the country, and at both the Universities; as it would be neither practical nor expedient, to receive all the Students into the House of the Society. The persons received there are limited to Candidates on trial, and to Clergymen and Schoolmasters preparing for embarkation. Such Regulations have been adopted for the Government of the Family, as seemed best adapted to train them for their future employ.<sup>34</sup>

As the number of English candidates rose, so the need for German Lutheran clergymen declined and the 1817 Report expressed gratitude to the Berlin Seminary for the valuable assistance afforded by that institution in the past but indicated there would be no further need of men from that source. The accounts show, however, that £100 had been contributed to the newly founded Missionary Seminary of Basle and in the next few years many men trained there were accepted into the service of the Society. So it seems there were other reasons, not made public, for ending the connection with Berlin. When Jaenicke wrote to the Committee in 1821 recommending a man, the Secretary was directed to inform him that they got their Lutheran ministers from Basle and that his nominee would need to apply to the Directors of the Basle Institute. The link with the Swiss institution was established in 1818 when the directors of the fledgling college wrote to CMS offering the services of their students to act as missionaries in British India once they were qualified. CMS agreed, at their suggestion, to fund eight new students at £25 a year each for 'expenses of board, apparel, and



instruction.'

The Society's published accounts show how each year the cost of training was rising; in 1818 there appeared a new item 'Books for Library and Students' costing £172. 18s. 5d. A further £58. 9s. 9d had been spent on fitting up and furnishing accommodation for the reception of students. The 1819 accounts show expenditure of £139 on students at Basle as well as a further £125. 14s. 4d on furnishing student accommodation in England, and £187. 11s. 9d on books for the library in Bickersteth's house.

An Act of Parliament, which was to have major consequences for CMS, received the royal assent on 2 July 1819. The Colonial Service Act allowed the Archbishops of Canterbury and York and the Bishop of London to admit persons into Holy Orders specially for the colonies. From now on there would be no problem in finding a bishop willing to ordain their candidates. The first missionaries ordained under its provisions were Isaac Wilson at Christmas 1820 and Henry Williams, afterwards Archdeacon in New Zealand, at Trinity 1822.

The 1819 Annual Report carried a detailed account of the origin and working of the Basle Missionary Institution which had opened in 1816, eight of whose students were currently attached to CMS and under preparation for its service. The instruction given to the Basle students consisted of 'the Latin, Greek and Hebrew Languages; the doctrinal and practical study of the Scriptures - sacred and profane History - Geography - Drawing - Logic - Arithmetic - and Singing; besides various mechanical arts.'<sup>35</sup> Some of the students were also attending lectures in the university at Basle for the purpose of being admitted to ordination by the clergy of that city.

In England the candidates were still being trained by clergy around the country. An important development had, however, taken place in the purchase of Barnsbury House Islington. The Committee reported:

An arrangement has taken place, in the course of the year, with reference to the Society's Students, which the Committee consider as likely to prove highly beneficial. Great inconvenience was experienced in receiving the Students and Missionaries into the House in Salisbury Square, from the growing business of the Society, and the limited accommodation which, in consequence, the House furnished to the Students. A House has, therefore, been taken in the Parish of Islington, within a convenient distance of Salisbury Square, for the especial accommodation of such Students and Missionaries as it might be requisite to have for any time in London. To this House, Mr and Mrs Bickersteth have removed; while the House on Salisbury Square is appropriated to the carrying on of the Society's daily business, which, the Committee rejoice to say is gradually increasing.<sup>36</sup>

It would be wrong to think that students now received their theological education at Barnsbury House. In a brief memoir of Bickersteth, the Rev Henry Venn made it clear the students were still sent to pursue their studies either at the university or with different clergymen. 'But after their studies were completed, they returned to the Mission House for a few weeks or months, previously to their departure. Mr. Bickersteth was then in the habit of delivering to them a course of lectures upon missionary duties...'<sup>37</sup> His task appears to have been the formation of their missionary character.

The subject of the education of candidates was now to take up an increasing amount of the Committee's time and energies. On 14 May 1819 they discussed the matter:

The Secretary suggested that there was reason to apprehend that serious difficulties might arise from the establishment of a Seminary, avowedly intended to prepare the Society's Students for



Ordination; such as the awakening of Jealousy on the part of persons in authority in the Church, and a difficulty of procuring Testimonials. He further suggested, that, as repeated intimation had been given, more particularly from the East, of the necessity of the Society's Missionaries to those quarters being well-educated and sensible as well as devoted men, it had become requisite to keep this in view in the preparation of the Students; and that it might be found, in consequence, expedient, and in the end economical, to give the Missionaries intended for the Mediterranean and India the benefit of an education in one of the Universities, conducted, as that education now is, in every way advantageous to the Students. Other Students, whom it might not be thought expedient to send to College might be prepared, as at present, for Holy Orders, by some competent Clergyman in the Country. The College Students during the Vacations, and both they and the other Students after Ordination, might reside in the House of the Society, and be carried through a course of preparation more immediately adapted, under the Divine Blessing, to fit them for the Missionary Life and Labours. By such an arrangement, whatever might appear objectionable under the idea of a Missionary Seminary would be avoided; while provision would be made; according to circumstances, for furnishing the Society's Labourers with the requisite Literary and Missionary Instruction. In case this plan should be adopted, it might be ultimately requisite to make further provision for the suitable accommodation of the Students than the present House of the Society would afford.<sup>38</sup>

The Committee approved these proposals and directed the Secretaries to make appropriate suggestions from time to time for carrying them into effect. The Twenty-first Annual Report, given on 1 May 1821, noted that of the students accepted during the previous year, three were members of Trinity College Dublin, 'all being natives of Ireland.' Up to 1840 only sixteen university men volunteered for service with CMS, the first of them being William Jowett of Cambridge who had been 12th Wrangler. He went to work on Malta and then Ceylon, and in 1831 became

the Society's Clerical Secretary. The number of graduates would rise sharply under the Secretaryship of the Rev Henry Venn - between 1841 and 1848 there were thirty-two and even more volunteered in the 1850s.

Some difficulties with the students from Basle proved to be another incentive for the Society taking all training under its direct control. A Committee Minute of 11 June 1821 records that it was resolved 'That the Rev Theophilus Blumhardt be informed of the difficulties experienced by the Committee in consequence of the indisposition of some of the Lutheran Missionaries, to use the Liturgy of the Church of England; and that it be stated to Mr Blumhardt that, in order to obviate this difficulty hereafter, the Committee deem it requisite that the Pupils maintained by the Society in the Seminary at Basle, should carefully peruse the Formularies of our Church and declare their willingness to use the Liturgy and conform to the Discipline thereof, so far as they may be required to do so by the Committee or its Representatives.'<sup>39</sup>

Blumhardt responded positively to this requirement, writing to Pratt on 29 June: 'We deem it very reasonable that all the Missionaries of your Society adopt the excellent Liturgy and Discipline of your Church, and act in the same manner, in all respects, as your own Clergymen do, who are in the service of your Society. All our Students are prepared for it, and after having perused your Common Prayer Book, they find not the least doubt to accept of it as their own, and to conform themselves, from a full conviction of their hearts, to the ordinances of your Church.'<sup>40</sup> In May 1822 Blumhardt came to England and met the Committee; any differences there may have been appear to have been resolved.



In the autumn of 1821 a suitable property for conversion into a training establishment became available in Islington. It consisted of a large well-built house with outbuildings and a garden of three quarters of an acre, so there would be room to expand if necessary. A small committee was set up to inspect the property and negotiate its purchase.<sup>41</sup>

On 11 April 1823, Lord Gambier the President of CMS chaired a Special Committee Meeting at which all the arguments for the Society having its own training institution were rehearsed and an appeal was launched to fund the proposed new college in Islington. The pressing need was for all the students to be together under the same instructors and in a place where the Committee and other officers of the Society could get to know them and so be able to assess their usefulness. An added advantage in having the college near the metropolis was the availability of teachers of those languages the missionaries needed to learn. An 'Address to the Public' about the proposed college was immediately published and the Appeal pressed at the Annual Meeting held in the Freemason's Hall, London on 6 May 1823. The Minutes of the Special Committee Meeting appeared as part of the Annual Report of 1823 and supporters were urged to raise the £2,500 needed to reimburse the Society's General Fund which had advanced the money to buy the property and upward of a further £10,000 was needed to develop the site.<sup>42</sup>

The case for the college and for this special appeal fund had to be argued in the CMS associations around the country. An address given at the Annual Meeting of the Gloucestershire Church Missionary Association in 1823 by the Rev George Hodson was printed in full in the June issue of The Missionary Register with the headline 'Advantages of the

Proposed Seminary' Hodson closely followed the Committee's line of argument in their statement given at the Society's Annual Meeting. The old system of farming candidates out to clergymen in the country, though the best under the existing circumstances, had been open to considerable objections, he argued. The Directors of the Society had had to 'devolve a very material part of their responsibility upon others, by making THEM rather than themselves, the judges of the qualifications of its future Missionaries'. One of the necessary abilities was linguistic and this could be better judged before they were sent abroad if they were all in one place under the tuition of competent instructors. Hodson also saw advantages in friendships struck up between students who might later work together and possibly have to minister to one another in sickness or when dying. 'And if it should please the Lord of the Harvest to call either of them hence while in a Heathen Land, how will it cheer his last moments to receive the offices of Christian kindness and affection from the friend of his youth, the partner of his studies, the associate of his labours!'<sup>43</sup>

Pratt resigned as Secretary on 23 April 1823 and Bickersteth was appointed to his office; there was already a very efficient if somewhat abrasive lay assistant in the person of Mr Dandeson Coates who had lived at 14 Salisbury Square, the Society's headquarters since his appointment in 1820. The Rev Thomas Woodroffe was appointed Assistant Clerical Secretary in Bickersteth's place. In their biography of Pratt, his sons drew attention to the formative role he had played in persuading the Committee of the need for its own college:

Mr Pratt had repeatedly urged the necessity of having some collegiate establishment near London, in which the students might be brought together, and trained under the more direct observation of the



Committee and Officers by some able and experienced Mind; their true qualities developed; the best instructors in every department of knowledge procured at the smallest expense; attachment fostered between the Society and its missionaries; and the accumulating experience of the Missionary corps brought to bear on the preparation of the future labourer. These views we find brought forward by Mr Pratt in an Appeal prepared and signed by him as Secretary April 15, 1822, for "a separate subscription for the establishment of a seminary at Islington". Some excellent friends objected to the measure on the ground of the expense. The result, however, was, the opening of the present Institution with great solemnity January 31, 1825 when Mr Pratt invoked the Divine Blessing in prayer.<sup>44</sup>

A special Building Sub-Committee was appointed which met frequently and plans were prepared for erecting a separate building for the students as well as for adapting the interior of the existing house. It all depended on how much money would be given and how quickly. When the Committee met on 20 March 1824, it was reported that £2,621. 4s. 7d had been subscribed to the Seminary Building Fund. It was decided, therefore, that the most expedient course of proceeding was 'to repair the present house, with a view to accommodating a Master and such Students as the present House can contain, contemplating the future erection, if it should be found requisite, of a separate building for the Students on the Freehold ground, in which case the present house might be appropriated to the Master's residence, or any other object which might appear advisable.'<sup>45</sup> There were at this time twenty-three students under the Society's care - seventeen in different parts of England and six in the seminary at Basle.

Another sub-committee was given the task of considering the appointment of a tutor for the 'seminary at Islington' and when they

met in September 1824 the intention was to begin the Institution on a reduced scale with a single member of staff. They wisely decided that before they could consider possible candidates for the post, they needed to have a plan of how the place would be run. They accordingly proposed at their meeting on 13 September 1824 the following outline for the approval of the General Committee:

Plan of the Institution. The premises at Islington are now fitted up for the reception of eighteen or twenty Pupils, the greater part of which number the Society will be able to place at once under the Superintendence of the Tutor. The students are of different ages, between twenty and thirty, and are preparing for Holy Orders. Generally speaking it will be necessary to direct and assist their Studies in Latin and Greek till they are qualified to pass the Examination for Orders - to superintend their Theological Studies, and to exercise them in the composition of English Essays, and Sermons, upon subjects in Divinity. In some cases of promising abilities, it will be necessary, under the sanction of the Committee, to carry on their studies to higher branches of science and knowledge; and to superintend their acquisition of an elementary knowledge of the Oriental Languages, under proper Masters. It will also be necessary frequently, to receive into the Institution Germans from the Basle Seminary who will already have received Lutheran Ordination, and who will reside in this country for a few months previously to their being appointed to Stations abroad, in order that they may perfect themselves in the knowledge of the English Language and become personally known to the Committee and Officers of the Society.

The General Committee has determined upon placing all the Household Affairs in the Institution under a Matron. Nevertheless, it is highly expedient that the Tutor should be present during their meals; for in many instances, Missionary Candidates, of a very promising kind, have never had the advantages of polite Society, which defect it is hoped, may be in a great measure remedied by the correction of their manners and the example which this Institution will afford. It will also of



course be expected that the Tutor should conduct Family Worship morning and evening.<sup>46</sup>

The Tutor was to be paid £400 a year with a house rent and rates free; it was later agreed that the matron's salary should not exceed £30 p.a., and the cook was to receive fourteen guineas, the housemaid twelve guineas and a groundsman £30 a year.

At the Committee's meeting on 18 October 1824 it was agreed to name the new college 'The Church Missionary Institution', to have two members of staff and to appoint a 'Committee of Visitors' whose task would be to 'exercise a general superintendence over the Religious and Literary Concerns of the Institution, and shall be the medium of communication upon such matters between the Committee and the Institution.'<sup>47</sup> They were to visit at least once a quarter and they alone had the power to expel any student; the committee was to number fifteen in all, ten of them clergymen. Amongst the first appointed were Daniel Wilson the Vicar of Islington, William Dealtry the Rector of Clapham, Josiah Pratt, Edward Bickersteth, John Thornton the Society's Treasurer, Zachary Macauley and Sir Robert Inglis MP. One of their first decisions was 'to procure a copy of the Regulations of the Bishop of St David's College at Lampeter.'<sup>48</sup>

Another issue to which the Committee gave some attention was the ethos of their new institution. This is reflected in their discussions about the titles to be given to the staff - should they be called First and Second Master or Principal and Tutor? They finally decided on the latter at their meeting on 10 January 1825 as the term 'master' rather conveyed 'the idea of an educational establishment for boys than adults'. Was it to be primarily an academic and professional

institution or a family? This wasn't finally settled till 1830.

A House Committee was appointed who set some basic house rules:

1. That Family Worship be held in the Morning at half past eight, and in the Evening after Supper.

2. That the diet of the Students be plain, and regulated under the direction of the Principal.

3. That the usual meals of the Family be arranged as follows

Breakfast at Eight o'clock

Dinner at Half past One

Tea at Half past Five

Supper at Nine

4. That the Students retire to their respective Bedrooms, immediately after evening Family Worship.

5. That no fires be allowed in the Students' rooms, unless in cases of sickness, and in such cases under the direction of the Principal.

6. That one of the Female Servants wait on the Students at meals.

7. That the Housekeeper be allowed such Tea and Sugar for her own use, as are provided for the Society's Family.<sup>49</sup>

If the above regime sounds somewhat spartan, it was certainly much less so than that endured by the students in the Basle Seminary. A deputation from CMS visited Basle in the summer of 1827 and reported in great detail to the Committee at their meeting on 10 September 1827.<sup>50</sup> The students at Basle slept in two dormitories, twenty-two beds in the one and eighteen in the other; they did their own cleaning of their accommodation and washed at a fountain in the open air! Not surprisingly, they were cheap to keep - 'the annual expense of each Student, including Salaries paid to the Teachers, Books, Clothing and Board, is about £36.' The staff cannot have fared much better - 'The married Teachers receive from £90 to £100 a year each, and the unmarried from £30 to £50, in addition to board and lodging.' But they did report the cost of living was lower in Basle than in London.



In December 1824, the Rev John Norman Pearson MA accepted the Committee's invitation to become the first Principal. He had graduated at Trinity College Cambridge, been ordained in 1812 and was Chaplain to the Marquis of Wellesley. The Rev Legh Richmond recommended his Curate, the Rev John Ayre, as someone well qualified to be the Classical Tutor, and Pearson agreed on condition he served a short probationary period before the appointment was confirmed. Pearson was given a stipend of £400 p.a. and Ayre £300 p.a. with 'participation in Public Meals and proper residences for their families'.

The 1826 Annual Report gave a fairly full account of how well the new institution was being used and then made a further appeal for funds:

In the course of the year, thirty-seven Individuals have resided in the Institution; and there have been five non-resident Students, who attended with the others for instruction; making the total that have, more or less, participated in the advantages of the Society's Seminary, forty-two. The Institution opened in January 1825 with twelve Students; at the time of the last Anniversary there were twenty; and at present there are, with two Non-residents, nineteen; eleven of these, including three English Clergymen, are in actual preparation for their work, and eight are pursuing probationary studies. The whole number of persons who have quitted the Institution in the year is twenty-three, of whom sixteen have gone to their respective Stations in the Heathen World; the services of four have been declined, and two withdrew; the remaining one - Mr B. Pratt - remains in suspense, as stated above. [His wife was seriously ill.] Of those who have departed for foreign service, seven were English Clergymen in full Orders, five were Lutheran Ministers, and four were Laymen.

An Examination of the Oriental Classes of the Students took place under the direction of the Rev Professor Lee, on Wednesday the 26th October, before the Committee of Visitors. There were two Classes in

Hebrew, two in Arabic, one in Ethiopic, and one in Sanskrit. The result of the Examinations was highly satisfactory.

The Committee of the LANGUAGE INSTITUTION have kindly allowed the Society's Students gratuitously to attend the Lectures delivered at their House.

The Committee have increasingly felt the value and importance of the Institution; and are about to enlarge the Buildings, so as to provide for the reception of fifty Students, as was originally contemplated. As the plan has now been tried, and found to be efficient, they trust that the Friends of the Society will regard this circumstance as an additional motive for contributing to this object.<sup>51</sup>

The 1826 accounts show that the Society was now spending ten percent of its total income on training. £2,938 went on the maintenance, clothes, books, stationery and travelling expenses of students; £970 on the salaries of the Principal, Oriental Tutor and Classical Tutor; £181 on books for the library, and £364 was paid to the Basle Seminary - a total expenditure of £4,453 out of an income of £44,561 for the financial year ended 31 March 1825. The Annual Report also shows how important to the Society the passing of the 1819 Act had become - on 29 May 1825 the Bishop of London ordained two of the Society's students as Priests and nine as Deacons, and seven of the latter as Priests on 19 December that year and three more as Deacons.

The foundation stone of the new building was laid on 31 July 1826 by Lord Gambier; Daniel Wilson, the Vicar of Islington and subsequently Bishop of Calcutta, gave an appropriate address on the importance of combining sound learning with scriptural piety, and Josiah Pratt offered up the dedicatory prayer. The building was to house fifty students with a hall, library and lecture rooms and was taken in use the following year. The hopes for such a large student body were not



fulfilled in the years immediately following; it was reported at the 1833 Annual Meeting that numbers were down to thirteen and the Principal asked for the prayers of the members of CMS that 'the number of students may be increased.'

Reference has been made to an 'Oriental Tutor'. This was an early CMS candidate, Samuel Lee, who at the age of twelve had been apprenticed to a carpenter in Shrewsbury and while working at that trade had acquired a knowledge of Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Syriac, Arabic, Persian and Hindustani. He came to the attention of a CMS supporter who introduced him to Pratt. The Committee arranged for him to go to Cambridge at the Society's expense; he was admitted a pensioner at Queen's under Isaac Milner in 1814 with an allowance of £150 a year which was subsequently increased by £100 a year for maintaining his family. He graduated BA in 1818 and was at once ordained and a year later was appointed the Sir Thomas Adams Professor of Arabic; in 1831 he became Regius Professor of Hebrew.<sup>52</sup> He never went abroad with CMS but gave them good service at home, translating tracts and parts of the Bible into seven different languages and helping to train their candidates. In March 1825 it was agreed that he would work with the students for six weeks in the spring and six weeks in the autumn, for which the Society paid him a stipend of £400 a year.<sup>53</sup>

At the Institution in Islington there were differences of opinion between the Principal and the Committee about the training, and at a time of financial pressure on the Society, an Investigation Committee was appointed which included the college and its working in its purview. Alterations were recommended which were not liked by either the Principal or Tutor, and both indicated they might resign. It was

proposed to reduce the Tutor's stipend and to assign him quarters in the college but the Committee agreed at their meeting on 20 February 1830 to let him reside in his present house at his present salary though he was to be available for the Society's work on Sundays too. This arrangement did not last long as Ayre left at the end of that year. His successor lived in college on a reduced stipend of £150 p.a. The Principal too took a drop in stipend of £50 p.a. but was free to take clerical duty elsewhere on a Sunday morning and afternoon.

The Annual Report of 1830 openly acknowledged that the Institution had not been working as effectively as it might but claimed the Principal could not be held responsible. The principles on which the college was now to be run were given in this paragraph:

It would in our opinion, be preferable that the Institution should be assimilated to and put more upon the footing of a Family, the members of which have given themselves up to some great work. The Head of such an Institution should, we think, be distinct from the person employed to give instruction in the subordinate branches of human learning; and should regard the Students as his Children, maintaining with them, at all times, an unreserved and familiar intercourse. Such a community, living in the exercise of mutual love, in which the Spirit of the Great Head of the Church shall be found to dwell richly - and where, as has been emphatically expressed by Mr Blumhardt, in speaking of the Institution at Basle, "not Moses but Christ, not the Law but the Gospel, reigns" - may be expected to receive, in a peculiar manner, a blessing from the Lord, and to produce and send forth Labourers into the Vineyard fitted for their arduous duties.<sup>54</sup>

The new regulations ran to six closely printed pages (See Vol 2 Appendix 4 B), and covered in detail the duties of the Principal and Tutor, the curriculum, discipline, the library, the Committee of Visitors, and student life in the college. The fundamental principle is



stated in Regulation 4, namely that 'the whole of the Studies and arrangement of the Institution be directed with a view to assimilate it rather to the circumstances of a large family, than to those of a Collegiate Establishment.' An important distinction was drawn between the four categories of students in the one family, those who were already ordained, candidates, catechists and probationers. Some attention was given in the outlined course of study to their differing academic needs. The usual length of training for non-graduates was three years. Candidates who had completed their studies in Basle usually spent a further year at Islington for instruction in Anglican doctrine and Church practice. University graduates were also encouraged to spend a year at the Institution. One of the earliest Lutheran students to come to Islington from Basle was Samuel Gobat who came in 1825, later he was to become the Anglican Bishop in Jerusalem.

Bickersteth resigned in 1830. He was tired and overworked and the Committee had refused to reduce the load of deputation and preaching on behalf of the Society. Perhaps more importantly, he was outvoted on the Committee on a decision concerning changes he wanted in the Institution. His successor was not appointed until August 1832 when the Rev William Jowett MA took over and held office for eight years.

Pearson resigned in 1838 to become Vicar of Tunbridge Wells. Bishop Blomfield of London used the occasion of his leaving to praise the calibre of ordinands presented to him from the college. 'His Lordship remarked that he had been much struck with the comprehensiveness of the theological knowledge acquired by the students, and with the judiciousness of the mode in which it had been imparted to them by Mr. Pearson; and added that the Society's students

had been among his best candidates.'<sup>55</sup>

His successor, who was appointed in January 1839, was the Rev C.F. Childe MA of Emmanuel College, Cambridge. He had been ordained in 1831 and served the curacy of St Michael, Cambridge from 1833-38. He had also been the Perpetual Curate of St Paul's Walsall and Head Master of Walsall Grammar School from 1837. One of the problems he faced on taking up his new job was meeting the needs of students whose intellectual ability varied enormously. He wrote, 'We had to carry on the several works of an English School, a Grammar School, and a Theological College, at one and the same time in one and the same place.'<sup>56</sup>

In addition to the four categories of students noted above, there were also now catechists returned from the mission field, some African students notably Samuel Crowther who had been trained at Fourah Bay College and a number of other foreign nationals such as Maoris from New Zealand and even one Red Indian from North West Canada! The largest single group were the English non-graduates, many of whom were prepared for ordination.

In 1841 a new Tutor was appointed who gave his life to the college. He was the Rev John Gottfried Heisch MA who had graduated as 29th Wrangler in 1835 at Cambridge. He had been ordained in 1839 to the curacy of St Mary Islington, and was to stay on the staff of the college until 1879, for the last twenty-one years as Vice-Principal.

In 1848 a set of Jubilee Tracts was published in which the achievements of the first half century were reviewed. Among these were the number of training establishments for the supply of missionaries - 'at Islington, Sierra Leone, Tinnevelly, Travancore and Ceylon.'<sup>57</sup>



Thirteen hundred native teachers and evangelists had been trained for work among their fellow-countrymen and there were one hundred and thirty-nine clergymen, nine of them natives.<sup>58</sup> There were one hundred and two mission stations with more than thirteen thousand communicants between them and an estimated one hundred thousand people under Christian instruction. In a summary of the Society's achievements produced by the Secretary, the Rev Henry Venn, he noted that three hundred and fifty missionaries had been sent out from Europe, eighty-three of whom had died after an average service of six years and a further one hundred and forty had retired chiefly on the grounds of ill-health. It was a dangerous profession the men were being trained for! The Society's historian, Eugene Stock, recorded an episode in the life of the college soon after it opened - Principal Pearson reported the deaths of six missionaries in Sierra Leone and asked for volunteers among the students to go out at once to take their place, four volunteered that same day and two more the next morning.<sup>59</sup>

The training given at Islington was not all theoretical. At the Annual Meeting in 1831 it was reported: 'The formation of a District Visiting Society in the Parish of Islington has afforded them an advantageous opportunity of usefully employing their hours of relaxation from study; and their visits to the poor and afflicted, under the direction and control of the Clergy, while they accustom them to the habits of discipline and order, are beneficial preparations for their future labours among the Heathen in Foreign Lands.'<sup>60</sup> Stock reported in his history of the Society that students undertook the pastoral care of the worst districts in London, known as the Irish Courts:

These courts were crowded with the lowest class of Roman Catholic Irish, a lawless, drunken, and quarrelsome population, among whom no policeman used to go alone. They were regularly visited by the students, and day-schools, Sunday-schools, and Sunday services were set on foot. The services were held in a large upper room approached by an outside staircase, which was familiarly called by the men "St Patrick's Cathedral". The "cathedral" windows were now and then broken by stones, and the "cathedral" doors battered, and once nailed up. The visiting was certainly no bad preparation for Inland China or the Afghan Frontier.<sup>61</sup>

A comment by Principal Childe about the men highlights one of the most praiseworthy benefits afforded by the college - it allowed a number of men who would not otherwise have had the opportunity of receiving a higher education to enjoy it. He wrote:

It used to be a matter of daily wonder to mark the intellectual vigour, and the rapid progress, of some whose previous culture had been the most slender. Again and again I found myself saying, "If So-and-so had enjoyed my advantages he would have far outstripped me in the race of scholarship." It was impossible not to recognize in their success the blessing of a faithful God, in answer to believing prayer.<sup>62</sup>

As the history of the Society shows, many of these men who had come from the most humble backgrounds gave distinguished and heroic service on the mission field.

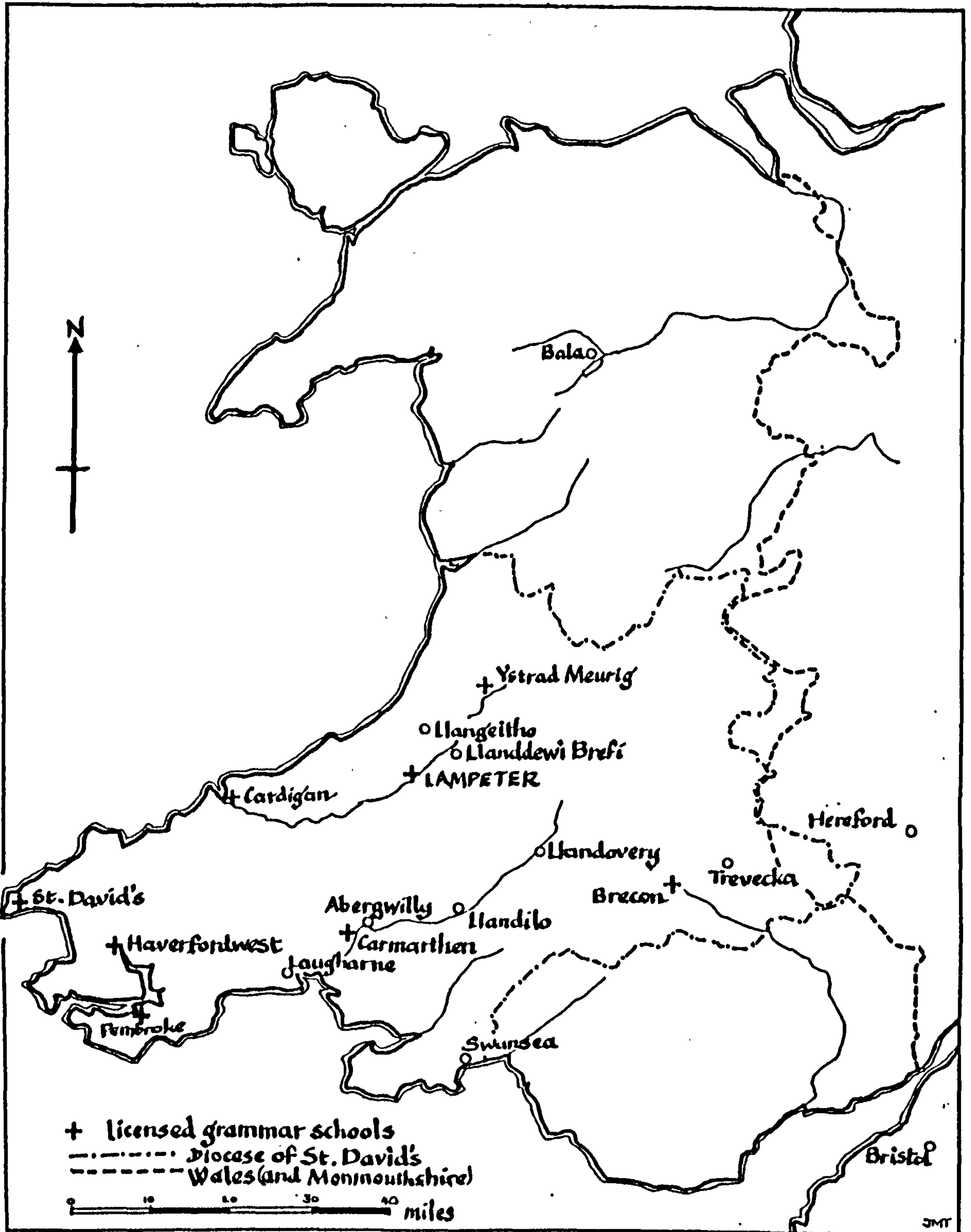
#### NOTES

- 1 H. Venn                      Origins of the Church Missionary Society, p.465
- 2 ibid
- 3 ibid                          p.471
- 4                                  CMS Proceedings Vol 1 1801-1805 pp.8-9
- 5 ibid                          p.141      2nd Annual Report 1802 and Appendix 2 pp.152-155
- 6 ibid                          p.315      4th Annual Report 1804
- 7 ibid                          p.320
- 8                                  CMS Committee Minutes G/C/1 Vol 1 p.177 6 May 1805
- 9 ibid                          p.228 9 June 1806
- 10 ibid                          p.236 4 August 1806



- 11 *ibid* p.238 1 September 1806
- 12 *ibid* p.243 3 November 1806
- 13 CMS Proceedings Vol 2 1805-1809 p.196 19 May 1807
- 14 G/C/1 p.281 4 January 1808
- 15 C. Hole The Early History of CMS, p.120
- 16 J. Scott The Life of the Rev Thomas Scott, pp.380-381
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# WALES





ST DAVID'S COLLEGE, LAMPETER

Durham June 16 1803

Dear Churton,

Since my last letter Mr. Addington has written to me to inform me that he has recommended me to His Majesty for the vacant see of St David's, and that His Majesty has approved of his recommendation. I do not as yet know the time of my consecration, but I should be very happy to have the pleasure of hearing you preach on the occasion at Lambeth. I request this favour of you, because I know no one who would do so compleat justice to the occasion as yourself.'

The recipient of this request was the Rev Ralph Churton MA, a former Bampton Lecturer and fellow of Brasenose College Oxford, whom the writer would later collate and institute as Archdeacon of St David's and Prebendary and Canon of Mydrim in September 1805. The writer was the Rev Thomas Burgess MA, incumbent of the pleasant country parish of Winston near Barnard Castle where he resided, and the holder of the wealthy sixth prebendal stall in Durham Cathedral to which he had been appointed in 1792 by Bishop Shute Barrington whose Examining Chaplain he had been earlier at Salisbury. A former fellow and tutor at Corpus Christi College Oxford, Burgess had earned a reputation as a considerable classical scholar by his numerous learned articles which he had published. He was forty-seven when Henry Addington, his former school friend from Winchester days and now Prime Minister, raised him to the episcopate.

At that time the diocese of St David's was huge, covering the counties of Breconshire, Cardiganshire, Carmarthenshire, Pembrokeshire, most of Radnorshire, a quarter of Glamorgan and several parishes in

Herefordshire, Monmouthshire and Montgomeryshire. It was almost as large as the three other Welsh dioceses put together, and was second in size only to Lincoln but of the then twenty-six dioceses in the Church of England it ranked as the third poorest.<sup>2</sup> It could boast the largest town in Wales - Merthyr Tydfil in Pembrokeshire which in 1801 had a population of just over 7,000. Communications by road were not good, and there were no newspapers before 1804 when the first English paper, the Cambrian, appeared in Swansea followed in 1810 by the conservative Carmarthen Journal. An attempt to start a Welsh language newspaper in 1814 failed. All of which added to a sense of isolation in the diocese. This was one reason why bishops in the previous century had used it as a stepping stone to less demanding, less isolated and more lucrative sees. Of the eighteen bishops of St David's in the eighteenth century, only two Adam Ottley (1713-24) and Nicholas Claggett (1732-42) had stayed as long as ten years. D.T.W. Price described the situation in the diocese at this time - 'a weak and impoverished episcopal Church, led by English bishops, with a grossly inefficient and largely medieval organisation, and manned by a few educated priests, many of whom knew no Welsh at all, and by an army of ill-paid native clergymen, mainly from Cardiganshire.'<sup>3</sup> So Addington's offer was not a particularly attractive one but it was a bishopric and Burgess accepted.

He and his wife moved to Abergwili Palace in the late summer and he held his first General Ordination on Sunday 25 September 1803 in the Chapel of St John the Baptist in his palace, at which he ordained five deacons and ten priests. Unfortunately their ordination papers have not survived and the Bishop's Act Book does not on this occasion record any details of the candidates' education or social background, but it seems



that none of them was a graduate. Some weeks later during his residence at Durham, for Burgess retained his stall there needing the emoluments to meet the expenses of his diocese, he wrote to thank Churton for a copy of his 'excellent sermon' which he had received. In the letter he gave this report on the state of things in his diocese and, in so doing, alluded to some of the factors which would prompt him to found a theological college.

Durham 16 November 1803

You will be glad to hear that I found the circumstances of my Diocese, in some respects, much better than I expected. At the Ordination in September most of the candidates who were admitted to Orders were very well prepared. There were twenty candidates; fifteen were ordained; four were refused, and one *arena sponte decessit*. There are no active Archdeacons: (there are four Archdeacons, but they have long since ceased to visit) but there are in the whole of the four Archdeaconries twenty Rural Deans, who make very minute reports of the state of the churches in their respective districts. Their assistance to the Bishop is, I think, capable of being turned to a very good account. The whole Diocese is full of Dissenters of different denominations and mostly Methodists. The evil of schism has been so long prevalent in South Wales from a variety of causes that I do not expect to be able to lessen it. But I shall use my best endeavours. I shall hold my primary Visitation next year; and I shall avail myself of every opportunity of information that it will afford me. <sup>4</sup>

On 10 October 1804 twelve of the Rural Deans met with the Bishop at the palace and at the conclusion of their meeting formed a Society for promoting Christian Knowledge and Church Union in the diocese. On the 23rd the Bishop wrote to all his clergy informing them of this new organisation and setting out what its five educational objects would be. The third one reads as follows: 'To facilitate the means of

education to young men intended for the Ministry of the Church of England in this Diocese, who are educated in the Diocese'.

Burgess's positive comments about his Rural Deans and about his first ordination candidates were probably due to the exertions of one of his recent predecessors in the see, Bishop Samuel Horsley (1788-93) who was translated to Rochester ten years before Burgess's appointment. It was probably he who revived the office of rural dean as an effective part of the diocesan organisation, the functions of the archdeacons having been suspended since the reign of Charles II. He had also helped the poorest clergy by setting the minimum stipend of curates at £15 p.a., and he tried to make the beneficed clergy reside in their parishes. His charge to the clergy given in 1790 was translated into Welsh and published, a unique compliment for that time. In it he had sought to encourage and help his clergy, who had constantly to address small and illiterate congregations, to communicate with simplicity and clarity the evangelical doctrines of the Church - 'the word of reconciliation... the terms of peace and pardon to the penitent'. A major concern for him had been the selection and training of candidates for Holy Orders. On his arrival in the diocese, he found that many of them had received much of their training at Castellhywel, a famous non-conformist school in Cardiganshire to which students came from all parts of Wales and sometimes from England. Their tutor had been David Davis, a scholar with a reputation for knowing Latin and Greek perfectly. Horsley refused to accept the certificate of the school, and he determined to rely on the better Anglican schools in the diocese to provide prospective clergymen with a classical and theological education, and in this he set a pattern which Burgess was to copy. In a



letter to schoolmasters of the diocese, he wrote:

In all future ordinations I am resolved to require in every candidate for Deacon's and Priest's Orders a much greater share of knowledge and learning than has generally been insisted on here... The very inferior value of the preferment in this country may still continue, as it has done, to exclude gentlemen who have had the advantage of a university education from engaging themselves as curates among us. But I am well convinced, from what I have seen, that the schools of this country, under proper management, may afford a very reputable body of men, fully equal to our necessities and expectations... All candidates for deacon's Orders, who bring no testimonial from either University, shall bring with them certificates that they have been, the last three years without intermission, at some reputable public school, of which I have the happiness to find many in this diocese.<sup>5</sup>

He gave specific directions to the schoolmasters for their 'students in divinity' and from a wider reading list nominated five books in which he would examine candidates for Orders and expect to find them expert. These were Grotius de Veritate, Burnet on the Attributes, Pearson on the Creed, Wheatley on the Common Prayer and Secker on the Catechism. He advised them further to -

keep a book in which you may make a regular entry of the names of your pupils that enter the Divinity line; you will also set down the dates of their admission, their ages, the place of their nativity, how they were educated, who their parents are, and of what profession, a copy of which register, I devise, may be submitted to me every year, two months before the ordination. You will be careful to admit none as students in divinity of bad moral character, that have been engaged in any low or menial occupation, that have any natural imperfections in the organs of speech, or labour under any remarkable deformity of person... Another caution I would earnestly recommend is to admit no students in divinity who have not made such a proficiency in school learning as to be able to construe the Greek Testament and the common Latin authors with tolerable proficiency.<sup>6</sup>

Horsley's biographer, H.H. Jebb, wrote with some justification:

The great churchmen of the day were loth to exchange the comforts of England for the rude society and intricate roads of this wild mountain region. But Horsley's strong will and great personality before long infused a new life into the diocese. Into all the departments of a Bishop's work, as it was then recognized, he threw his untiring energy, and his work left its mark. In the organisation of his diocese, in his visitation of remote parishes, in his profuse hospitality, in his care for the poorer clergy, in his preparation for ordination and in his restoration of the cathedral, he left a record which remains until today.<sup>7</sup>

Fortunately for the diocese a kindred spirit in the person of Thomas Burgess was appointed soon enough after Horsley's episcopate to build on the good initiatives he had taken, and stayed long enough to see them bear fruit.

One of Burgess's lifelong concerns was that only worthy candidates should be ordained - witness his first ordination when only fifteen out of twenty candidates were accepted. His friend and biographer, J.S. Harford, devoted a whole chapter to this important aspect of the bishop's ministry. He noted how -

in order fully to ascertain the competency of candidates, he himself performed the functions of examining chaplain. The onerous duties which this office imposed upon him, so entirely engaged his thoughts and attention for the week preceding an ordination, that all other engagements were superseded, and he passed his time in the examining room, sedulously superintending the proceedings of the candidates, and satisfying himself as to their qualifications and attainments... Accurate Biblical knowledge, a competent acquaintance with the Greek Testament, and facility in English composition, were among the leading qualifications which he required... But independently of the learned preparation which he thus required, he did his utmost to impress upon them the indispensable necessity of personal piety in order to a faithful and effectual discharge of the clerical



functions. He would, in a kind but scrutinising manner, inquire into the motives of those who applied to him for orders; and unless they proved to be such as would stand the test of reason and of conscience, he gave them no encouragement.<sup>8</sup>

In 1811 he published a small treatise On the Importance and Difficulty of the Pastoral Office and the Dangers of Rashly Undertaking it which contained the timetable for the Ordination Retreat held at Abergwill in the week immediately before an ordination there. (See Vol 2 Appendix 5 B) His primary visitation charge in 1804, Peculiar Privileges of the Christian Ministry, had been an exposition of his view of the ordained ministry whose end and purpose he saw as being 'to preach Christ and Him crucified; to proclaim redemption through His blood, even the forgiveness of sins; to invite men to righteousness by the gracious promises of the Gospel, or to persuade them by the terrors of the Lord.'<sup>9</sup> - a plain Evangelical view.

In his letter of November 1803 to Churton, Burgess had referred to the diocese being full of Dissenters, 'mostly Methodists', and to 'the evil of schism.' Almost all early Methodism developed in this diocese. At the time of writing, the Welsh Methodists were still members of the Church of England and the decisive separation was not to come until 1811 but his comment reflects his own critical attitude towards them. This was highly regrettable for a large number of his clergy and laity were members of the Methodist societies and they represented the liveliest spiritual force in his diocese. The *Rules and Design of the Religious Societies among the Welsh Methodists* formulated unanimously at their Association held at Bala as recently as June 1801 had stated categorically:

We do not designedly dissent or look upon ourselves as dissenters

from the Established Church. In doctrine we exactly agree with the Articles of the Church of England, and preach no other doctrines but what are contained and expressed in them. Our meetings are seldom or ever held in Church hours, but in union with the Church we desire the full enjoyment of those privileges which the laws and constitution of our favoured country amply afford us, of having liberty without restraint to use every Scriptural means to spread the knowledge of the Gospel of Christ among poor, ignorant, and perishing sinners. Making a sect or forming a party is not the object we are aiming at, God forbid.<sup>10</sup>

In his Articles of Enquiry prior to his primary visitation, Burgess asked the question:

Are there any Dissenters from the established church in your parish, and of what sects? Are they numerous or otherwise? Have they increased or decreased of late years? If they have increased, to what do you impute it?' Where incumbents were sympathetic, the Methodists were well attached to the Church. In an analysis of the answers given by the clergy in the Ultra-Aeron deanery to these questions, E.D. Jones concludes: 'The answers show clearly that some of the clergy did not know where to place the Methodists. They reflect uncertainty by introducing a less precise term - sectaries - into their answers in order to accommodate the Methodists.'<sup>11</sup>

Lewis Evans, Vicar of Llanfihangel y Creuddyn and Eglwys Newydd, reported frankly about the first named parish:

Yes, there are Methodists who are numerous. They have increased considerably of late years. I am at a loss to assign what may be the real cause of their increase. A constant change of preachers, great earnestness seemingly - and private meetings may contribute to their increase in some degree. But ignorance of their Baptismal Vows, Contempt of the Discipline of the Church, and a strong tendency to Schism without considering the nature and consequences of that sin may contribute in a greater degree.<sup>12</sup>

With regard to his other parish, he reported 'Our opponents say that



People forsake the Church on account of the indolence and negligence of the Clergy.'<sup>13</sup> Burgess was determined to do all that he could to prevent the further growth of dissenting bodies but for this he would need to have better educated and trained clergy with a more definite sense of vocation and dedication.

The Bishop seemed to be blind to the events of the previous century which we shall now examine. A great spiritual awakening had taken place and it was associated almost entirely with clergymen and laymen of the Established Church who became denominated Methodists but who remained loyal members of the Church of England. Against the generally depressing picture of church life in South Wales in the eighteenth century, these men and their achievements stand out as beacons of light and hope, and it is not without significance that they were non-graduates to a man who had been educated simply in the schools of the diocese.

Their pioneer and the true father of the religious revival was the Rev Griffith Jones (1684-1761), ordained Deacon in 1708 by the Bishop of St David's to a curacy at Cilrhedyn. In 1716 he was presented to the living of Llanddowror by Sir John Philipps of Picton who had erected several schools in South Wales. An able and impressive preacher, immense crowds flocked to hear him but he is chiefly remembered for his great efforts in education by which, it is estimated, a quarter of the nation's population became literate. He opened his first school in 1730 in his own parish. Being a Welshman he taught his people in their own language, his aim being to make the labouring classes literate so that they could read the bible. SPCK provided him with thirty thousand copies of the Welsh bible and many copies of the New Testament for sale

at cheap rate to the poor or for free distribution through his schools. He started his circulating schools in 1737 and in that first year 37 schools opened with 2,400 pupils. The finance for this work came largely from supporters in England <sup>14</sup> and each autumn he published details of the year's work in a report entitled Welch Piety together with a letter written by himself 'to a friend' (probably Sir John Thorold of Cranwell in Lincolnshire) and with a number of letters from clergymen and laymen praising the schools.

Some extracts from the Welch Piety can serve to illustrate his purpose and method - 'Neither the poor nor any others, are, at all, to be taught writing or cyphering in these schools, that the masters may exert all their endeavours, and lay out all their time, and all their pains, to instruct them in the catechism, and principles of religion, and to read the Holy Scriptures, with all the speed that is possible; for as they are, for the most part, very poor, they cannot afford to stay long in school; and besides, it is by no means the design of this kind of spiritual charity, to make them gentlemen, but christians, and heirs of eternal life.'<sup>15</sup> 'Many of the masters now are such as have themselves been taught in these schools; and all of them have it in their charge, to teach their scholars to read, to sing psalms, and to pray with them morning and evening, and to make it always part of their devotion, to pray for their benefactors, and for the blessing of God to prosper their labour of love in these infant seminaries... In most of the schools, the adult persons do make about two thirds of the number taught in them.'<sup>16</sup> 'Tis commonly but for three or four months that these schools are continued in the same place: poor people cannot stay longer at one time from their labour; and sometimes they have the



school again for so many months afterwards in the following year, to perfect what was deficient before; this being thought the best way, as also a sufficient length of time, for willing learners to accomplish their desires. And then the schools are removed to other and distant neighbourhoods, where they are most desired, and like to meet with the best success.' '7 .

He referred to some of the causes of religious ignorance - 'non-residence, plurality of curacies, English preaching to Welsh congregations, abound so much; and, alas! the want of proper dispositions to wish for success, and some places left almost without any preaching at all.' '8 In his letter of 1739 he stoutly defended his teaching the poor to read in Welsh and put on record some of the evil caused by appointing clergy to Welsh livings who did not speak the native language. 'Tis a great hardship upon some clergymen, to be made pastors of Welsh congregations, when they are not qualified to officiate in that tongue... This has, in too many places, reduced the country into heathenish darkness and irreligion (and, what some are apt to declaim against as more damnable) into different communities and separations from the Established Church.' '9

The Vicar of a neighbouring parish, the Rev John Evans wrote a pamphlet in 1752 Some Account of the Welsh Charity Schools in which he charged Griffith Jones with bringing Methodism into South Wales through his circulating schools. A similar charge had already been refuted in the Welch Piety of 1740-41 - 'Thus some have without distinction huddled up both Welch schools and methodists together under the same sentence of condemnation, tho' they have no concern nor affinity with one another. The schools were in being before ever this

name was heard in Wales.'<sup>20</sup> In that same letter, he offered what he saw as the main reason why people did dissent from the Church of England - 'No. sir, they generally dissent at first for no other reason than for want of plain, practical, pressing and zealous preaching, in a language and dialect they are able to understand; and freedom of friendly access to advise about their spiritual state.'<sup>21</sup> By the year of his death, these schools had been in existence for twenty-four years with a sum total of over 150,000 scholars. His greatness lies not so much in being an educational pioneer, for such schools had existed before his, but as an organiser - the new thing was the scale of the work maintained over such a wide area for so long.

Whilst the work was funded largely from England, he had one generous supporter in his own neighbourhood, Madame Bridget Bevan (1698-1779), who continued the work after his death. Her father, John Vaughan of Derllys Court, had organised schools for SPCK in Carmarthenshire from 1700-02. Her childhood home had been a centre of religious and educational life and she became connected with Griffith Jones through marriage. When his wife died in 1755, he went to live in her home in Laugharne until his death. He bequeathed to her the funds of his schools and his private fortune, totalling £7,000, with instructions to carry on the work of the schools which she did very successfully. The year 1773 with its 242 schools and 13,205 pupils was the most flourishing in the history of the movement. On her death in 1779 she bequeathed £10,000 for the continuation of the schools but her will was disputed by two of her relatives who were also trustees and the money was placed in Chancery until 1804, by which time it had accumulated to over £30,000.



Bishop Burgess sought to discourage the use of the Welsh language in the schools when they were revived but Welsh-speaking advisers such as the Rev Thomas Beynon and the Rev Eliezer Williams persuaded him to think again. The incident is related in a memoir of the latter written by his son - 'As to one point in the management of these schools, the bishop and my father were again unfortunately at issue. His Lordship felt anxious, as was certainly very natural, that the schools should be organized on a plan that would tend to the ultimate extinction of a language of which he himself was ignorant; while my father, being, as we have already seen, thoroughly acquainted with the circumstances and habits of the flock under his care, knew by experience that the pupils were not able to receive religious instruction in any other tongue, and that to persist in such a scheme, would drive away the Church members that yet remained.'<sup>22</sup>

We shall look briefly at four other religious leaders in the eighteenth century whose influence persisted in St David's diocese into Burgess's episcopate. Howell Harris (1714-73) was an Anglican layman who attended Llwynllwyd Academy from 1728-30 with a view to ordination later. He was converted in 1735 and a year later had his first meeting with Griffith Jones and Madame Bevan at Laugharne, which resulted in his first approach to Bishop Claggett of St David's in July 1736 for ordination. After the bishop's refusal to ordain him, he wrote on 31 July to Griffith Jones whom he regarded as his spiritual director:

The Clergy and the Church evidently do not value Regeneration and Reformation. I despair of ever being ordained. My present conduct, I know, is new; but the entreaties of ye poor people and the change in their life urge me to go on.<sup>23</sup>

In September he opened a charity school at Trevecka and became an

itinerant revivalist preacher too. He was to apply again for ordination in February and August 1739 but each time without success.

... In May 1737 he established his first 'Society' for the special nurture of the spiritual life of his converts at Wernos in Llandefalle parish. The Society meetings were meant to be supplementary and complementary to the statutory religious services of the Church of England, his intention being the reformation of the Established Church from within. In a letter to Vicar Lloyd of Llandefalle dated 14 June 1741 answering questions and criticisms made by him, Harris stated: 'As to my opinion, I am, and according to my light am resolved to continue, a member of the Church of England, never to discourse to my knowledge in time of divine service, always attending on it myself...' <sup>24</sup> His ministry as an itinerant preacher developed, and this extract from a letter dated 20 October 1748 gives some account of it and helps to explain how he came to be called "the apostle of Wales":

It is now about nine weeks since I began to go round South and North Wales, and this week I came home from my last journey round North Wales. I have visited in that time thirteen counties, and travelled mostly one hundred and fifty miles every week, and discoursed twice every day, and sometimes three or four times a day... I never saw such crowds coming to hear, nor more glory among the people; many hearts and doors have been lately opened. <sup>25</sup>

In 1752 he founded a religious-industrial community at Trevecka on the lines of the Moravian communities at Herrnhut and Halle in Germany, and at Fulneck in Yorkshire, which grew and flourished. All money earned by the members of the Family who numbered 'above a hundred souls' in 1755 was pooled and used for their general maintenance. The community had a charitable and reformatory character too, for cripples



and blind people were cared for, paupers sheltered, and some were sent to mend their ways under supervision. The Countess of Huntingdon founded a college in an ancient house standing upon Harris's land at Trevecka, it being opened formally in 1768 by the Rev George Whitefield. Students came from different parts of England and Wales till the number reached about thirty. They were at liberty to stay for three years, their education being provided free of charge and likewise a suit of clothes once a year. It was an academy for preachers who had to give proof of conversion and subscribe to the Calvinistic opinions of the Countess. The first President of the college was the Rev John Fletcher, Vicar of Madeley, but he visited only occasionally. It moved to Cheshunt in 1792. Inevitably there was an interchange of services between the two establishments at Trevecka, and Harris addressed the theological students on occasions. Harris died at Trevecka in 1773 and was buried in Talgarth churchyard where a memorial tablet in the church describes him as a 'faithful member of the Church of England'. B.H. Malkin visited the Trevecka Family during his tour of South Wales in 1803 and attended worship there but it was not to his sober taste - he referred to 'these degradedly methodistical and jumping sects... The groans of his hearers, sometimes in a solo part, and sometimes in chorus, corresponded with the scarcely human contortions and ejaculations of the preacher. Some stood, some knelt, and some were stretched upon the floor in profane humiliation.'<sup>26</sup>

The greatest preacher amongst those who brought revival was the Rev Daniel Rowland (1713-90), the son of a clergyman, educated at Hereford Grammar School and ordained Deacon at the uncanonical age of twenty on 10 March 1733 to the curacy of Llangeitho at a stipend of £10 p.a. His

brother John was the incumbent of the parish and of Nantcwnlle until his death in 1760, when the living was given to Daniel's son who in 1764 moved to Shrewsbury where he held the curacy of the Abbey Church until 1781; Daniel occupied the vicarage at Llangeitho where he died in 1790. He visited Griffith Jones in August 1735 and was converted in the following month. In August 1737 he first met Howell Harris at Devynock and Harris visited him at Llangeitho in October of that year. Doctrinal controversy between the two men began in 1745 and Harris separated from Rowland and his followers in 1750 until a reconciliation was effected nine years later. It has been claimed that the differences were not just doctrinal but moral also, and that Harris had behaved improperly with a married woman of wealth and position in North Wales.<sup>27</sup> Rowland's powerful preaching attracted huge crowds, and a meeting place was built for him in Llangeitho in 1760 and enlarged in 1764. His monthly sacramental service was a great attraction with up to three thousand communicants and many other worshippers present - up to twenty thousand - some of whom had travelled several days to be there, which probably justifies the description of him as one of the most wonderful preachers Wales has ever produced. On his deathbed, he is said to have exhorted his son to hold fast to the Church of England in which he foresaw great revival coming.

The Rev William Williams (1717-91), known as Williams Pantycelyn, was the movement's and Wales's greatest hymnwriter. Born in Carmarthenshire, he was educated at Llandovery and a Llwynllwyd Grammar School for the medical profession. He was ordained Deacon on 3 August 1740 by the Bishop of St David's to the curacy of Llanwrtyd at a stipend of £10 p.a., where a well-known Welsh man of letters,



Theophilus Evans, was Vicar and a bitter antagonist of the Methodists against whom he had published a tract in 1739. This was an unfortunate appointment for Williams as he had been converted following a powerful sermon preached by Howell Harris in Talgarth churchyard, and he himself quickly began to exercise an itinerant ministry.

In 1743 he left his curacy to assist Daniel Rowland in the Private Societies he was forming, and had responsibility for those in Radnor and Montgomeryshire. As an itinerant minister he travelled on average three thousand miles a year for fifty years but not without opposition. In a letter to Harris, then in London, written on 20 October 1742 Daniel Rowland wrote:

I am put into the court for discoursing at an ale-house. Brother Williams is put in too for not living in the parish where he officiates. I love him more and more for his simple, honest, plain way of dealing with the people. His parishioners are highly incensed against him. I trust we shall have him out before long.<sup>28</sup>

On 14 February 1743 Harris wrote to George Whitefield:

I saw Brother Williams on his return from Brother Rowland. He informed me that while he and Rowland discoursed at the seaside in Cardiganshire, ruffians with guns and staves beat them unmercifully, set on them by a gentleman of the neighbourhood. Rowland had a wound on his head. Yesterday I heard Bro. Williams preach. The spirit of Rowland seems to rest in a great measure on him.<sup>29</sup>

In 1748 he toured Wales with Lady Huntingdon and her retinue and his son, the Rev John Williams, became Tutor at her college at Trevecka in 1784 and its President in 1786 where he stayed for five more years teaching theology and languages. In the rupture between Rowland and Harris, he sided with the former but was amongst the first to visit Harris at Trevecka and to win his allegiance to the Methodist movement

again. Writing to the Rev Thomas Charles at Bala shortly before his death, he said: 'Exhort the young preachers to study, next to the Scriptures, the doctrines of our own celebrated Reformers as set forth in the Articles of the Church of England, and the three Creeds, namely the Apostles Creed, the Nicene, and the Athanasian.'<sup>30</sup>

Another of these Anglican clergy whose work made him a household name was the Rev Peter Williams (1722-96) who was born at Laugharne and educated at Carmarthen Grammar School prior to his ordination in 1745. He had been converted through the preaching of the Rev George Whitefield two years previously. Before becoming an itinerant preacher, he served as a curate at Eglwys Gymyn in the diocese but was dismissed from it by the Vicar, John Evans, the arch enemy of Griffith Jones. His Annotations on the Bible, which was in effect the first Welsh family bible with notes and comments, went through many editions and made him famous. One of his sons was the Rev Eliezer Williams (1754-1820) who became Vicar of Lampeter at the invitation of Bishop Burgess and whose school there was licensed by the Bishop to prepare candidates for ordination.

These founding fathers of the Methodist movement within the Church of England trained a large number of itinerant lay-preachers called *cynghorwyr* or exhorters in order to extend the religious revival. Their avowed object was not to create a schismatical society but to spread the religious revival within the communion of the Established Church, a revival which was helped by George Whitefield's preaching tours in South Wales in 1743, 1749 and 1766. The most recent historian of 'the great awakening', D.L. Morgan, wrote:

In England and Wales every one of the outstanding leaders was a



- member of the Anglican Church - remember that Williams Pantycelyn was confirmed after his conversion - that throughout their lives they all vehemently opposed secession from it. Harris was refused orders four times, Williams had to be content with ordination as a deacon, Rowland was not given a rectorship; but they were bound to the Church of England as children are bound to their mother. They clung to it because they hoped to reform it; perhaps the classic Protestant doctrine of the *ecclesia semper reformanda* was part of their subconscious endowment.<sup>31</sup>

One reason for their great influence as opposed to that of the bishops was that they ministered for so long in the area. They stayed whilst eleven bishops came and went.

Bishop Burgess's critical and unsympathetic attitude to the Methodists, which was typical of the bishops in Wales from the time of the religious awakening, was one of the factors which caused the Methodists eventually to break with their mother Church when they could and should have remained within it as an Evangelical reforming force. The final separation came with the ordination of eight lay preachers at Bala in June 1811 and eleven more at Llandilo in August of that year; the stated reason for this being the great deficiency of clergy to meet the requirements of their adherents. A strong current of enthusiastic spiritual life was lost to the Established Church. It is doubly sad that Burgess, himself an Evangelical at heart with a genuine concern for the calibre and commitment of his clergy, should have failed even to attempt to harness this spiritual force in his diocese. The titles of the essays which he set and for which premiums of £10 were paid for the best indicate how on the one hand his interests and concern were at one with those of the Methodists, and how on the other he was opposed to them as a body of Christians - 'Essay on the Signs of Conversion and

Unconversion in ministers of the Church', 'Dissertation on the most practicable and effectual Means of diffusing Religious Knowledge among the Poor on some general and uniform Plan, which may comprehend the Poor of a whole Diocese; and of establishing School-rooms for such Purpose', 'Dissertation on the most effectual Means of reviving the Spirit of public Worship on the Sabbath, and promoting a more general and regular Attendance at Church' and 'Dissertation on the most rational and Christian-like Means of removing the Errors of Schism and Enthusiasm; and of recalling our Dissenting Brethren to the Church Establishment' - the last three titles being set in 1805.

This lack of sympathy for Welsh enthusiasm was in part due to the Bishop's ignorance of the Welsh language, culture and character, and his predecessors throughout the previous century were similarly handicapped. As their tenure of office was usually so short, they had clearly no intention of learning the language and knowing the people. Erasmus Saunders in 1721 recorded that 'invidious remarks were made that the bishops only accepted the post by way of earnest or insurance of some other bishopric.'<sup>32</sup> He singled out ignorance of the Welsh language by the bishops and by so many of the clergy they appointed as 'a Practice that has contributed not a little to the Decay and Desolation of our Religion.'<sup>33</sup>

In 1768 John Jones (1743-1803), a barrister and Fellow of Queen's College Oxford, published a pamphlet Considerations on the Illegality and Impropriety of preferring Clergymen who are unacquainted with the Welsh language to Benefices in Wales. In it he wrote, 'The duty of a Rector and Curate, it is apprehended, is to read in the church the Liturgy of the Church of England, as established by law, to administer



the Ordinances of the Church; to pray and to preach, to exhort and to admonish the people under his care, both in public and in private; to visit the sick and the afflicted, to give them spiritual advice and consolation. How a Minister, that understands not his people's language, nor the people the Minister's, can do all, or any part of this, must remain a mystery to every man of common understanding.' And he recorded the unhappy consequences of such appointments - 'In those parishes where persons unacquainted with the Welsh language have been preferred, there has been manifestly a decay of religious worship. The churches are deserted; the people will not hear what they do not understand. We will suppose that nothing but Welsh was to be preached in the churches in England; would the people attend to such Sermons? the case is exactly similar.'<sup>34</sup>

As we have already seen from the testimony of Griffith Jones, the Methodists made their impact on the people through the medium of the Welsh language. This theme was developed by A.J. Johnes in 1831, a native of Montgomeryshire, who had read Law at London and was to become a County Court Judge in Wales, in a book entitled An Essay on the Causes which have produced Dissent from the Established Church in the Principality of Wales. In it he ascribed the unpopularity of the bishops to two causes - their want of sympathy with the feelings and tastes of the people, and their neglect of the language of the people. He complained with some justification - 'the parishes are filled with ministers unsuited to them. The Bishops usually take but very little pains to encourage deserving pastors, and often prefer Englishmen to Welsh benefices.'<sup>35</sup> He also complained 'Since all the higher emoluments have been bestowed on strangers, Welshmen of high endowments

have naturally considered it humiliating to enter into the Church; the working clergy, therefore, are, for the most part, an inferior "caste".<sup>136</sup>

The anonymous author of the *Speculum Episcopi*, published in 1849, said of the English bishops that they 'came into a wild poetic region, among people quick, ardent, full of impulse and jealous of foreign interference. They looked upon the people as savages, drugged into a sort of religious intoxication by the influence of their language; they treated the clergy as men fitted to herd with butlers, implacable, low in their habits, with whom nothing could be done.'<sup>137</sup> These are all harsh judgements on the state of things in South Wales but they are confirmed by writer after writer living during the period.

In the year that Burgess was appointed to St David's, Benjamin Heath Malkin made two journeys there, an account of which he published as *The Scenery, Antiquities, and Biography of South Wales from materials collected during two Excursions in the year 1803*. He wrote of the situation in Glamorganshire: 'Where the service is performed in English, the Welsh part of the parish betake themselves to conventicles; and it is highly probable, that this concurs with other causes, assigned in a preceding chapter, to produce so indecorous a desertion of the churches in that county.'<sup>138</sup>

We have seen that initially Burgess was inclined to continue the policy of his predecessors towards the use of the Welsh language but he was persuaded to change his attitude. He came in time to recognize that the need to supply the means of grace to all the people of his diocese in the language of their choice was one of the most pressing facing him. In addition, he himself began to learn Welsh and to give support





Rev Thomas Beynon (1744-1833) whom he appointed Archdeacon of Cardigan in 1814, he became a supporter of the movement to promote regional eisteddfodau. A meeting was held at Abergwili Palace on 29 October 1818 at which the Cambrian Society of Dyfed was formed, and the Bishop sought to encourage the formation of other Cambrian societies in Gwynedd, Gwent and Powys.<sup>42</sup> It was this society which was chiefly instrumental in reviving the eisteddfod at Carmarthen the following July when Burgess was formally admitted into the Welsh bardic fraternity by the celebrated Glamorgan bard and antiquary, Edward Williams Iolo Morganwg.

These festivals were both celebrations of patriotic sentiment and an educational agency - in the words of a later nineteenth century Welsh Church leader:

Within certain modest limits, in the days of educational destitution through which Wales has passed, it has been an educational agency. Prizes of considerable value are offered for poems, essays, musical compositions, and other efforts of a humbler kind. For many months in every year a number of Welsh youths are stimulated to study and intellectual effort by the desire of winning an Eisteddfod prize...By the composition of a poem or essay, many a young Welshman of ability, born in the humblest position, has been first able to make his merits known, and to rise out of obscurity into local usefulness and eminence.<sup>43</sup>

Many bards and writers dedicated their work to Thomas Beynon who was such a great enthusiast for all things Welsh. Born in Carmarthenshire, he was educated at the Grammar School and then at the Presbyterian Academy in Carmarthen. He was ordained Deacon at Abergwili Palace on 21 August 1768 and served his entire ministry in the diocese. He was a pluralist and not overly generous to the curates who served his livings



in his stead but he did use much of his wealth on building churches in his parishes and in support of the proposed diocesan theological college. He lived at Llandilo from 1770 until his death; from 1796 he was rural dean of Emlyn and prebendary in Christ's College Brecon, and from 1814 an archdeacon as well. He became one of Bishop Burgess's principal advisers and was present at the historic meeting of rural deans at Abergwili Palace on 10 October 1804 when plans were made for the reformation of the Church in the diocese.

When the Bishop wrote to his clergy following that meeting, he spelled out in some detail his vision for educating ordinands. (See Vol 2 Appendix 5 A) He bewailed the loss of three colleges in the diocese at the time of the Reformation and concluded 'It would be very desirable (if it were in our power) to supply these losses by at least some one establishment of appropriate education for the Ministry in the Church of England. An establishment of this kind, I have been informed, was projected not long since at Carmarthen, and some liberal offers made towards it. I cannot help thinking that a much fitter situation for the purpose might be found than a populous county town...' Considerable finance would be needed for such a project and in the short term he proposed assisting young students in Divinity 'with books and some pecuniary aid. For the accomplishment of this object, I earnestly recommend that every incumbent may contribute the tenth part of one year's income of his benefice; and in the case of new incumbents, that the benefaction be payable at the end of second year of his incumbency. And I trust that such a contribution from the *Patrimony of the Church* towards the better support of the *Household of Faith*, will not be thought burdensome by any sincere friend of the

Church. To this object I am willing to contribute £120, which is a proportionate part of what I am told is the average income of this See.' <sup>44</sup>

There is a letter in the College archives at Lampeter, dated 30 October 1797, written by the Rev Thomas Jones in Dublin to the Rev Thomas Beynon at Llandilo which supports the Bishop's reference to an earlier proposal for a training establishment at Carmarthen. The letter speaks of plans for 'a Collegiate School on a comprehensive plan' whose proposed course of reading was 'extensive but practicable'. The architect John Nash who had supervised the repairs to St David's Cathedral, Abergwili Palace and St Peter's Church Carmarthen had drawn a plan of the building but this had proved to be unacceptable to the gentlemen of the committee backing the proposal. A new school house was erected for Carmarthen Grammar School soon after 1797 which was capable of taking a hundred boys, and this may well have been what Thomas Jones was referring to in his letter. What provoked this initiative is not known. Possibly the return of the Dissenting Academy to Carmarthen in 1796 under the leadership of an able young minister, the Rev David Peters, and with a local minister, the Rev David Davies of Llanybri, as classical tutor, both of whom spoke Welsh - an important qualification the Committee of the Academy had decided. <sup>45</sup>

The 1811 Report of the 'Committee on a projected establishment for the education of young men intended for holy orders' referred to these earlier plans but in a footnote dated them even earlier - 'A proposal for an establishment of this kind at Carmarthen was made more than fifty years ago but was lost to the Church through some misrepresentation or neglect.' <sup>46</sup> Possibly there was an idea of founding



a training institution in opposition to the one at Trevecka but there is no evidence of this.

Another fundamental problem in the diocese which has only been touched on so far was the poverty of the clergy and of the see itself, and this too had its implications for the proposed theological college. Burgess pre-empted the work of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners in the 1830s and improved the value of the see for his successors by bringing a Bill into Parliament in 1822 restraining himself and all future bishops of St David's from ever again letting out on lives the episcopal estates enumerated in the Act, which were thus permanently annexed to the see, and effectively doubled the income. When leases did fall in, the practice had been to relet at a premium lump sum and a low rent; Burgess forewent such windfalls so that a higher regular income could be received by his successors. Harford claims that Burgess voluntarily sacrificed upwards of £30,000 in order to effect this important object.<sup>47</sup> Whilst personally generous to those in need, he was less successful in raising the stipends of the parochial clergy.

Their poverty had been well described a century earlier in Erasmus Saunders work A View of the State of Religion in the Diocese of St David's about the Beginning of the Eighteenth Century. With some Account of the Causes of its Decay, together with Considerations of the Reasonableness of augmenting the Revenues of Improprate Churches, and things had changed very little since then. 'It can scarcely be conceived, that any Part of the Christian Church should be reduced to that confused and forlorn Condition that we are in', he wrote. 'Again, did you see what very sorry and mean Cottages (if any) that are left for parsonage and vicarage Houses: But in most Parishes there are no

provisions of any kind for that use, no Glebe, no Ground to build upon; but as was said, where there are any, they are commonly so mean and inconvenient, as that the Clergy, poor as they are, cannot think them habitable for themselves, and therefore are obliged to part with them to any one that will please to rent them.'<sup>48</sup> He cited the situation in the rural deanery of 'Elvet alias Elvell in Radnorshire' where there was no parsonage house in fifteen of the twenty-three parishes, and this was typical of the whole diocese.<sup>49</sup> The problem persisted into the nineteenth century; a parliamentary return of 1810 giving the number of non-resident clergy for the year ending 25 March 1808 for livings under the value of £150 p.a. showed that of the 343 returns made, 283 (82.5%) were non-resident. One of the main reasons for this was undoubtedly the absence of any habitable parsonage in those parishes. The Ecclesiastical Revenues Commission returns for 1835 revealed that in the whole of the diocese there were only 110 glebe houses fit for residence, 78 were unfit and in 221 benefices there was no glebe house at all!

The poverty of the clergy stemmed largely from the fact that over one half of the tithes intended for the cure of souls of parochial benefices had been alienated from their original purpose after the Reformation. Instead of the incumbent receiving the tithes, they went to lay impropriators often living in England or to ecclesiastical appropriators who rarely contributed to the welfare of the parish from which they derived income.<sup>50</sup> In the parish of Llangyndeyrin, for example, the impropriator, Rees Goring Thomas, drew an annual revenue of £1,000 from tithes, whereas the Vicar received only £13.3s.4d. <sup>51</sup>

Saunders had described pluralist-curates who had to serve three or



four parishes to make a living 'hurrying about from one to another, that they have scarce leisure to read deliberately the Prayers at the proper Hours of doing it, much less to preach or Catechise, or as much as sometimes for to read an Homily. Such is the faint Shadow that remains among us of the Publick Service of Religion.'<sup>52</sup> The situation had been eased somewhat by the beneficent operation of Queen Anne's Bounty which had helped to raise the stipends of curates but they still remained extremely low in this diocese. The Bishop's Act Book lists the stipends of the first Stipendiary Curates licensed by Burgess in 1804 - two received £20 p.a., four £25, one £31, two £35, and one each received £42, £45, £51 and £56. According to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners Report 1835, the national average for curates' stipends had reached £82, but in St David's diocese it was still only £55, the lowest in the kingdom.

A description of church life written at the time of Burgess's appointment made much the same complaints as were found in Saunders work of 1721:

The poverty of the Church stands forward as a distinguishing cause [ie of dissent]. The livings are chiefly vicarages, and, owing to the unjust rapacity of the 8th Henry, are so small, as to render plurality necessary to procure incumbency. The inconsiderable sums which can be allowed to assistants, or stipendiary curates, occasions a greater plurality in curacies than in livings; nor is it unfrequent for a clergyman to have four or five different churches to serve on the same day. How the solemn service of our liturgy must, from necessity, be performed, may be better conceived than expressed; especially when it is recollected, that several miles are to be rode or walked over during the same period. This extraordinary labour, and so ill rewarded, deters men of education, of talent, and piety from engaging in the service. Others, therefore, from among the lowest of

the people, and destitute of education, (at least such as is necessary to understand divinity, and properly explain it to others) are necessarily admitted into holy orders; many of whom, by the lowness of their manners, too often throw obstacles in the way of truth, and degrade their ministry. Is it a matter of surprise then, if the people, finding their pastors as illiterate as themselves, should be inclined to follow others with more pretensions to piety, and at least equal claim to human learning?... The remedy is, to ameliorate the situation of the parochial clergy, encourage men of learning and respectability to undertake the duties of the church.<sup>53</sup>

An anonymous critic, writing in 1805 to Bishop Burgess, made similar points -

'Tis unnecessary, and would indeed, be very disagreeable, to give a person of your Lordship's great experience and observation, a detail of the deplorable state of religion in the more remote parts of the kingdom. The chief cause of it is an incompetent clergy. And this defect is justly ascribed to an improper education. Young people who come from ordinary country schools, or young men, who have been three or four months at a Dissenting Academy, are, not unfrequently, admitted into the Ministry. From such what can we expect? And yet how is the deficiency to be supplied?<sup>54</sup>

Their lack of education stemmed largely from the fact that their parents could not afford to pay to keep them in Oxford or Cambridge for three or four years, and those who could afford it usually stayed in England where their prospects were better.

Poverty is quoted again and again as being a fundamental reason for establishing a theological college in the diocese, e.g. the 1811 Report of the committee concerned with educating ordinands begins with the words 'The distance of this Diocese from the Universities, and the poverty of the greater part of its benefices, place an University education out of the reach of most Candidates for Orders', and in a



sermon preached before the Church Union Society in July 1812 Burgess said, 'I decided to do all in my power to establish in the Principality a College for the benefit of young men whose straightened circumstances precluded them from the advantages of a University Education.'<sup>55</sup> The final paragraph of the first advertisement at the opening of the college, dated 30 January 1827 and signed by Burgess's successor reads: 'All those persons, therefore, whose means are too limited to enable them to enjoy the advantage of an University Education, have now an opportunity, which, if they have any regard to their own interest, they will not forego, of receiving on very moderate terms an Education not inferior to that which is to be obtained at the Universities.'<sup>56</sup>

The children of most of the parish clergy who chose to follow in their father's footsteps could only afford, at best, to be educated in the local grammar schools. 'Of those admitted to Deacon's Orders 1750-99, 45 were graduates and 680 were literates. Another 37 had been at Oxford or Cambridge but had not taken a degree.'<sup>57</sup> The examples cited earlier of eighteenth century clergy who had helped quicken the religious life of South Wales shows that the absence of an university education was not necessarily a handicap. And we noted Burgess's appreciative comment to his friend Churton in 1803 how at his first ordination 'most of the candidates who were admitted to Orders were very well prepared.' Their preparation had undoubtedly taken place in some of the schools which Burgess was to license formally for the training of ordinands. His letter to the clergy in October 1804 referred to this - 'The principal schools in the Diocese, under proper regulations and with appropriate methods of study, are abundantly sufficient for the elementary part of Clerical education. But it would

be very beneficial to the Church, if young men intended for the Ministry, who are precluded the advantages of an University education, were enabled to employ their time in strictly professional studies during the four years preceding their ordination.' He also proposed assisting these young students in Divinity, as we have already noted, with books and some pecuniary aid. The schools he eventually licensed for this purpose were Brecon, Cardigan, Carmarthen, Haverfordwest, Pembroke, St David's and Ystradmeurig. For two decades these schools became the seminaries of the diocese.

The most famous was the school in Ystradmeurig, a small village situated between Lampeter and Aberystwyth. The school had been officially founded in 1757 by Edward Richard, a native of the parish and a largely self-taught scholar. He had opened his own school in the parish church as early as 1734 but closed it in 1740 to spend time improving his own education, re-opening it in 1746. At about this time another small grammar school was founded in the adjoining parish of Llanfihangel Lledrod and he was appointed master of that one as well. Initially he provided free instruction for 'twelve poor boys in the parish of Ystradmeiric in the Latin tongue and in the principles of the Church of England as by law established.' In 1771 the number was increased to thirty-two, while in 1774 the whole of Cardiganshire was brought within the scope of the charity. He had many pupils who achieved distinction in later life and one of them was his successor as master of the two schools, the Rev John Williams 'Yr Hen Syr' (The old Sir), the son of a local blacksmith who was one of the early Methodist exhorters. For the next forty years from 1777-1818, Williams consolidated the good work done in classical studies and enhanced the



school's name in the estimation of his contemporaries. He was an accomplished classical scholar, a strict disciplinarian and a gifted teacher. Its designation by Burgess as a school licensed to train clergy, its large number of pupils, and the inconvenience of having the school and its library in the parish church encouraged him to launch an appeal for funds to erect a separate school building and library in the churchyard, and these were taken in use some time before 1811.<sup>58</sup> He was succeeded by his brilliant son, the Rev David Williams MA, Fellow of Wadham College Oxford, who remained until his death in 1823. Nicholas Carlisle reported in 1818 that 'About an hundred boys upon an average are annually taught Reading, English Composition and Grammar, Latin, Greek, and Sacred Literature: the Routine of Education being much the same as that of the great Public Schools but without stress on Latin Versification.'<sup>59</sup> And he noted 'By far the greater number on leaving the School, have been directly ordained by the Bishops of this, and the neighbouring dioceses.'<sup>60</sup> In 1810, for example, Bishop Cleaver of St Asaph ordained several Ystradmeurig men. It seems that Burgess initially planned to build some lodging houses for ordinands at Ystradmeurig and concentrate the training on that school such was its reputation, but by the autumn of 1806 he had decided to establish a college proper at Llanddewi Brefi in Cardiganshire.

Second in importance was the school at Lampeter. Eliezer Williams's son explained its origin:

My father had not long been settled in his new abode before he discovered that the benefice did not answer his expectations. At that time it did not yield £200 per annum. He therefore opened a grammar school, which the bishop licensed, with a view to preparing young men for the established church. Lampeter was, at that period, a poor and

inconsiderable place. Uneducated preachers from among the lowest classes of society were starting up; and nothing could be more desirable than to check their rapid growth, and, if possible, to train up plants in a more cultivated soil. Such a nursery, therefore, as my father's, in that immediate neighbourhood, was hailed by the friends of the established church with great delight... The glebe-house was in too dilapidated a state for him to occupy it as a place of residence. The bishop, therefore, allowed him to convert it into a schoolroom, and to denominate it a "Licensed Grammar School". From this seminary, young men, in conformity with stated regulations, were admitted, at the usual age, into holy orders, and it may with truth be asserted, that no school in the principality attained a higher reputation, and that there has been no period in the history of the Welsh Church in which have appeared so many examples of ministerial devotedness and manly eloquence.<sup>61</sup> From this description, it would be more accurate to describe it as a private venture school but the Bishop's Act Book does record Eliezer Williams being licensed in July 1807 to 'the Grammar School at Lampeter'. With regard to the value of the living, S.R. Meyrick writing in 1810 noted that 'Two thirds of the tithes go to the see of St David's. The vicar has the other third, and receives hay tithe from one parcel of the parish. In addition to this he has a salary of £15 p.a. from the see of St David's.'<sup>62</sup>

In his memoir he also described his father's curriculum:

His plan was, after having for the first five years led candidates for holy orders through several of the classics, and through a course of general literature to direct them to the study of theology. The principal books which he put into their hands were the Scriptures of both the Old and the New Testament in the original languages; the Christian Fathers, Grotius de Veritate Religionis Christianae, Burnet de Fide et Officiis Christianorum, Clericus de Eliganda Sententia, Jewell's Apologia, Nicholl's Defensio Eccl. Angl., Hooker's Ecclesiastical History, and such other works as their diocesan recommended. This furnished them with occupation for the last two or three years of the period during which they had the benefit of his



tuition. It was his especial solicitude not only that they should acquire a habit of expressing their ideas upon paper with facility, but that they should devote a portion of their time to the study of rhetoric, and to a graceful and effective elocution in their native tongue. With this view, he exercised them in composition, and in the art of committing what they wrote to memory. Most of the young candidates thus attained a fluency of utterance, an accurate mode of expression, and an unhesitating confidence of manner, that in the end amply compensated them for all the labour to which they had been obliged to submit. Not a few of them have risen to distinguished eminence as preachers, and have been remarkable for their readiness in administering exhortation and comfort, as particular circumstances might require. In short, they have drawn together large congregations, and their admiring hearers have continued through life to be consistent and exemplary members of the church.<sup>63</sup>

The accuracy of this laudatory account by a son of his father's work cannot be guaranteed but the letters of a pupil at the school from 1819 to 1822 do tell us what it was like in the last year of Eliezer Williams's ministry.

The pupil was Rice Rees (1804-39) who was later to become the first Professor of Welsh at St David's College Lampeter. His uncle was the Rev William Jenkins Rees, Rector of Cascob, with whom he corresponded frequently and regularly from the time of his entering Lampeter School in February 1819 through his years at Jesus College Oxford and his time at St David's College. As a pupil Rees boarded out in the village at a cost of £26 p.a., plus ten shillings a quarter for washing and one guinea entrance fee. In August the scholars numbered eighty and the classes twelve, of which 'Mr. Williams hearkens six, Mr. Hughes the Usher three, and Mr. Evans another Usher three. The Divinity students number fifteen.' Here is a day in his life in November 1819:

At 7 in the morning I go to school and say my Exercise, and repeat

one. I afterwards go at four and say a lesson in Virgil, and return at six. On Thursday evening, instead of Virgil, we learn geography and arithmetic. On Saturday we also say the Church Catechism; and four of us, chosen the Saturday before, rehearse a speech. Prayers are read in the School by the Ushers twice a day. Wednesday is generally a holy day, if not we learn arithmetic. There is no particular plan followed, nor order kept in the School; nor have we any stated time to go there; all that is required of a boy in this case is that he should be there to say his lesson with his class fellows. We all learn our lessons at home, and go to school to say them. <sup>64</sup>

In the following year Eliezer Williams died and was succeeded by the Rev John Williams MA, the son of the former master of Ystradmeurig School. A brilliant classical scholar, he had taught for four years at Winchester. His fame attracted pupils from far away, including a son of Sir Walter Scott who called him 'the greatest schoolmaster in Europe'. It looked as though Lampeter might become the most famous school in Wales but this did not happen. Initially his strict and punctual attention to the school worked a great reformation in the conduct of the scholars, particularly the indolent and obstinate ones, and he determined to adhere to the English mode of regularity in teaching and compel the scholars to keep regular hours. Here is the week's timetable in October 1820 -

MONDAY 7 to 8 learning Greek Testament 9 to 11 ditto and saying ditto 11 to 12 Latin Verse, 3 to 5 learning and saying Virgil. 5 to 8 learning Homer for the morrow. TUESDAY 7 to 8 Homer, Greek Verbs and Greek Grammar 9 to 11 ditto and saying ditto 11 to 12 Latin Verse, 3 to 5 Horace and saying ditto, 5 to 6 learning Homer for the morrow. WEDNESDAY Morning same as Tuesday - evening, Latin verse at home. THURSDAY same as Tuesday. FRIDAY morning same as Tuesday, 3 to 4 Latin Grammar, 4 to 5 Repeating and making Latin Verses. SATURDAY Morning Virgil and Latin Verse. Evening Latin Verse at home.



Arithmetic one hour every morning in addition to the above.<sup>65</sup>

But this was short-lived as he gave more time to sport than to his pupils, and Rees complained in his letters of receiving only three hours of the master's time in a week instead of the usual ten, and of scholars talking of leaving the school and going home. In 1824 Williams moved to Edinburgh to become the Rector of Edinburgh Academy but retained the living of Lampeter until 1833. It appears that he had set his heart on becoming the first Principal of St David's College but some difference of views with Burgess ruled this out. His indifferent attitude to his pupils in the school could not have helped. Later he was to become bitterly critical of the college.

At the first Annual General Meeting of the SPCK and Church Union in the diocese, held in July 1805, various resolutions were passed which benefited a number of pupils in the licensed grammar schools. There was to be an annual competition with a premium of twenty shillings worth of books for pupils under twenty 'who shall pass the best Examination in the Greek Testament, Epictetus, and Cicero's Offices'. It was also resolved 'That an Exhibition of Ten Pounds a Year out of the Interest arising from the Benefactions to the Fund for Clerical education be given for the Maintenance of a Scholar at Ystradmeurig for four years after the Age of Nineteen Years compleat; and that the number of these Exhibitions be increased in Proportion as the Fund increases.'<sup>66</sup>

At the second AGM in 1806 it was proposed to build lodging rooms at Ystradmeurig for the Society's Exhibitioners but as the 1806 Annual Report states: 'Upon inquiry since made, it appears, that there are local difficulties, which render this situation not so convenient as was expected.' The school did, however, benefit by the exhibitions

awarded. The 1811 Report says that there were then five exhibitions of £10 p.a. and that once the college was built, the money would be used for 'the maintenance of scholars at the clerical seminary.'<sup>67</sup> Whilst providing much needed aid, these exhibitions were still only equivalent to at best about a third of a year's cost for a pupil living away from home, so the problem of how to finance the education of poor but able students was still not solved.

The alternative proposed location for the seminary was Llanddewi Brefi, the site of a college of priests founded there in 1287 but dissolved at the Reformation and more recently the scene of Griffith Jones preaching; it was during a sermon of his preached in the church there that Daniel Rowland was converted. The Committee's report explained why this site was preferred and what hopes and plans attached to it: 'The Parish of Llanddewi Brefi is part of a Manor belonging to the Bishop of St David's, who is willing to grant to the Society ground enough for the necessary buildings, garden, &c. Llanddewi Brefi recommends itself also on several other accounts as a place of Education for the Ministry: such as, its seclusion from populous Society; its vicinity to some of the Bishop's best patronage, which might serve as rewards to the ability and diligence of the Masters; its spacious Church, which is large enough to accommodate a numerous Society; its convenience for stone, fuel &c. - and its healthy situation.' But the Committee was still open to suggestions for alternative sites. The estimated cost of the accommodation for 'a Master, and three Lecturers, and Rooms for Thirty Students, with the requisite Appendages' would be £10,000 and that work would start once £2,000 had been raised. A Charter was to be applied for and the new



establishment would be known as St David's College. They reported:

It is intended to have distinct courses of Lectures,

1. On Theology and Christian morals;
2. On Languages; Hebrew, Greek and Latin;
3. On Elocution, and the Study of the Welsh Language;
4. On Church History, and Church Establishments; with special reference to our own Church;
5. On the duties of the Clerical Profession; and the existing laws relative to the Church.<sup>68</sup>

It was still intended to require four years of classical education at the grammar schools before students were admitted to the college at the minimum age of nineteen.

In the summer of 1809 Burgess was in correspondence with the Rector of Cascob, Rev W.J. Rees, about the possibility of him becoming the first Principal and asking his opinion on members of staff. He wrote on 25 July:

I am now preparing materials for the Statutes of our intended College. When these materials are a little digested, they will be distributed among the Rural Deans and others for further suggestions. I shall send one of these papers to you. As we are approaching towards establishment my attention is a good deal directed towards the duties of our future Principal, and I am very desirous of obtaining information respecting the choice of so important an officer in the institution. He should be a native of the Principality, should be doctor quinque linguarum Hebrew, Greek, Latin, English and Welsh, should be conversant in the study and practice of elocution, &c, &c. How would such an office suit you? I have no right to make an offer of it; but it will be of great service to our plans to have early intimation of persons disposed and competent to undertake the offices of Principal and Lecturers.<sup>69</sup>

In the same year Burgess produced draft regulations and a curriculum and submitted it to his advisers for comment. Thomas Beynon's copy with

his comments written in on it has survived and is in the college archives. The final form was printed as part of the Committee's Report for 1811; one of the most important clauses was that tuition, board and lodging would cost £30 p.a. and that ten students 'of eminent merit' would be educated completely free of charge. By 1810 materials were ready for starting work on the college but the Committee ordered the start delayed until more money had been raised. Burgess wrote to a benefactor, the Rev R. Finch, on 5 September 1812 to thank him for his donation and explained what was happening: 'We hope soon to obtain a Charter, which will give us the powers that are necessary to enable us to establish and govern the Institution, to acquire landed property etc.'<sup>70</sup> He was also hoping for some financial help from the Government who were already making a substantial grant to the Roman Catholic Seminary at Maynooth in Ireland which had over two hundred students, the cost of whose education was estimated at £25 per student a year. In time the bishop was to receive his charter and financial help from the King, the Government and the Universities, but the postponement lasted another ten years before work finally started on the building. In the meanwhile funds slowly accumulated.

Rees responded positively to the bishop's approach sending him several testimonials. In October 1810 Burgess wrote again asking if he would like to 'take charge of a Lecturer's duty provided the office of Principal should, by election, be assigned to some other person. The offices, you know, will be open to competition and I have reason to think that a very learned Welshman, learned in Theology, the Languages and Science, to whom it will be no discredit to be a second, will be a competitor.'<sup>71</sup> Rees never became Principal or Lecturer but he did



publish in 1816 an Essay on the most appropriate place for the proposed College for educating young men for Holy Orders in the Diocese of St David's. Rees had consulted with Beynon about this before publishing it. The two men favoured an urban situation for the college whereas the bishop favoured a quiet rural setting. On the 27 August 1816 the Corporation of Carmarthen passed a resolution subsequently printed in the Carmarthen Journal which read: 'Ordered, That the Mayor be requested to wait on the Lord Bishop of St David's in order to state to his Lordship the urgent request of this Corporation that the College about to be established in the Diocese be placed in or near the Town of Carmarthen; at the same time assuring his Lordship of the intention of the Corporation in that case, to contribute most liberally to the establishment, by consolidating, if thought expedient, the Free School with the College, and by subscribing pre-eminently towards its revenue; and that the Mayor be also requested to state the intention of several individuals to subscribe towards the establishment, if the same is formed in or near the town.' Beynon sent a copy of this to Rees and commented:

I am not only for the Vale of Towy, but decidedly for the Town of Carmarthen itself, where stone, lime, timber, brick and all materials may be had on the spot, and where there is the best Market in South Wales to supply the College. I am not so much afraid of the ill effects of a populous Society. The Head of the College will always be able to keep the young men within the Walls, as much as he wishes; and if he wants any collateral aid, the Bishop Visitor is within two miles to support his Authority.<sup>72</sup>

Nothing came of this initiative. It may be that the bishop felt under no pressure to build quickly, knowing that the divinity students in the licensed grammar schools were receiving an excellent training. He was

prepared to wait until he had the means to build a diocesan college which could stand comparison with an Oxbridge college, but it was a matter never far from his mind. In 1818 he was in contact with Charles Simeon about it. Simeon wrote to the Rev T. Thomason on 13 May 1818 - 'It will give you pleasure to hear that I am on the best footing with the Bishop of St David's and that he will do anything I can wish (in prudence) to promote my views. He is going to establish a Missionary Class in his College.'<sup>73</sup>

What eventually brought all these plans to fruition was a meeting and subsequent friendship between the Bishop and John Scandrett Harford, a wealthy Bristol businessman who included among his friends such Evangelical philanthropists as William Wilberforce MP and Hannah More. They happened to be fellow guests in Gloucester in the spring of 1820 at Henry Ryder's, who was Bishop of Gloucester and Dean of Wells. Harford recalled this meeting in his biography of the bishop: 'Among the topics to which the Bishop of St David's adverted with much interest in the course of our meeting at Gloucester, was his projected college for clerical education in South Wales; but at this time he did not appear to be sanguine in the hope of speedily realising the plan.' Later in the year Harford was in Lampeter where he had acquired property and heard that the Bishop was thinking of building his college there as communication by road was now so much better. 1820 was the year that the Rev John Williams came to Lampeter and he later claimed to have induced the Bishop to move the projected college there, though this same claim was made for Eliezer Williams too.

Harford described how his own involvement began:

The pressing want of such an institution in South Wales, its literary



and theological objects, and the probability that, independently of its direct and obvious influence, it would tend to civilize and improve the vicinity, naturally interested me, as they would any reflecting landholder, in its favour. A piece of land suitable for the projected building quickly suggested itself... As it appeared from its healthy and commanding position peculiarly adapted for the intended purpose, I made (in conjunction with two of my brothers, who were also interested in the property) an offer of it to the Bishop, in the course of a visit which I paid him at Abergwilly, in the autumn of the same year. This offer he very gladly accepted. The subject of the college naturally became during my visit a leading topic of our conversation; and from this time I felt a cordial interest in the promotion and success of the project. Henceforth our intercourse, both personally and by letters, became frequent. A fresh impulse was gradually imparted to the whole plan, and strenuous and successful efforts were made to augment the list of subscriptions. The Bishop, in adverting to these measures, often expressed great satisfaction that they had been resorted to at this particular period. "Had I left the diocese," he would say, "before the College was actually in course of erection, it would probably have never been built, and there would have been a scramble for the money subscribed."<sup>75</sup>

As it was, the change of site resulted in a protest meeting by the inhabitants of the neighbourhood of Llanddewi Brefi and Tregaron held at the Talbot Inn Tregaron on 21 November 1821 and chaired by the Vicar of Tregaron, the Rev John Jones. The protesters drew attention to the fact that thousands of pounds had been subscribed 'for the express purpose of erecting it at that place' and charged the Committee, including the Bishop, of treating the public 'with bad faith'. They reminded the Bishop that some years previously he had caused a quarry to be opened at Llanddewi Brefi, preparatory to building the college, and several hundred loads of stone had been dug up and were readily

available there. A memorial stating their case was presented to the Bishop and published in the Carmarthen Journal and in London newspapers but to no avail.<sup>76</sup> Archdeacon Beynon wrote to Rees at Cascob on 10 January 1822:

What do you think of our good Bishop's present plan of fixing the intended College at Lampeter in Cardiganshire? I do not approve of the situation at all, any more than I did that of Llanddewi Brefi. I am for one of the three County Towns, Brecknock, Carmarthen, or Haverfordwest; but Carmarthen certainly in preference, as being in the Centre of the Diocese, and near the Episcopal Palace, and consequently more under the Bishop's eye.<sup>77</sup>

Harford became a generous patron who readily gave of his time and talents as well as making a donation of £1,000. It was at his suggestion that the architect C.R. Cockerell became the designer of the college. He was personally responsible for soliciting grants from the two universities. It was through his father-in-law, Mr Hart-Davis, and his close friend Sir William Knighton, Keeper of the Privy Purse, that the support of King George IV was won for the project with a royal donation of £1,000 paid in equal instalments in November 1823 and February 1825. Without his practical sense and enthusiasm and the continuity of oversight he was able to give to the venture, especially after Burgess's translation to Salisbury in 1825, it is unlikely the college would have ever been completed. As it was, despite many more donations and Governmental support in the sum of £5,000 for the buildings plus the patronage of various livings for the staff, finance remained a headache. On 9 August 1822 Burgess issued a printed prospectus for the college and three days later, on the King's birthday, the foundation stone was laid following a service in Lampeter



Parish Church at which John Williams preached an 'able and appropriate sermon.' It took nearly five years to complete the building; the college was officially opened on St David's day, 1 March 1827, but the last payment for the work appears not to have been made until October 1829 by which time £22,500 had been expended.

Bishop John Banks Jenkinson appointed the Rev Llewelyn Lewellin (1798-1878) of Jesus College Oxford as Principal, Professor of Greek and Senior Professor of Theology, the Rev Alfred Ollivant (1798-1883), Fellow of Trinity College Cambridge and a disciple of Charles Simeon, as Vice-Principal, Professor of Hebrew and second Professor of Theology, and Rice Rees (1804-39) as Professor of Welsh and College Librarian. Rees worked hard at his Welsh for it looked as though Archdeacon Beynon would first examine him and Lewellin to ensure they were proficient in the language! Fortunately the Bishop ruled against this. On 30 January 1827 Jenkinson issued a statement announcing the opening of the college on 1 March and estimating a student's total expenditure, excluding clothes and travel, would be not more than £55 a year. Two of the things he listed on the curriculum were 'The Welsh Language as a necessary and essential qualification in a country, in which it is the ordinary dialect of the people' and 'Theology in all its bearings, but most especially in its practical bearing upon an able, active and conscientious discharge of the sacred duties of a Parochial Minister.'

At the beginning of February 1827 Rees met Ollivant in Carmarthen to agree the standard of the entrance examination - candidates were to be tested in the four Gospels in Greek, the first six books of the Iliad, Virgil and Horace, and translation of English into Latin. He wrote to

his uncle at Cascob, 'It ought to be generally known that the Bishop of Llandaff, and also some of the English Bishops, have declared that they will 'ordain candidates for Orders from St David's College, which will give it a decided advantage over the Grammar Schools according to the old system - so much for the alarmists who have been saying that the College will not answer. It is expected that we shall have about thirty students at the commencement, there have been several applications already, among which are four from England... thirty caps and gowns have been ordered for them at Oxford.' 78

A few weeks later he wrote again describing the chaos they had experienced at the start of term when a lot of furniture and equipment was still lacking in the college and because it turned out that the academic standard of many of the applicants was below what had been anticipated.

We have continued to admit Students to the present time and the number is now increased to forty-six, a great many of them respectable men, and with a few exceptions their outward appearance would not discredit any College in Oxford. From my acquaintance with the Schools of this Diocese I was very well aware that the standard we had fixed upon for the examination at admission was a great deal too high, but after all we were obliged to lower it much more than even I myself had ever contemplated; we found the men most disgracefully deficient, not twenty decent scholars out of forty-six, to the generality we gave nothing more to do than three verses of the Greek Text, and a stanza or two of Horace but it was enough; some said that they had been reading Divinity for the last three years and had forgotten their Classics...but at last we found a man twenty-three years of age who did not know the Greek letters correctly, and yet he meant to offer himself next ordination, but we made no scruple of rejecting him. The consequences of all this deficiency is that I am obliged to labour like a Grammar master, and to make several parse



as if they were in a fourth or fifth class at school, for we will not sign the testimonials until they have a competent knowledge of the classics... If we only improve the morals and habits of the Students the money expended in the building of the College will be amply repaid. Our discipline is strict and we are told that we give the men full employment.<sup>79</sup>

Later that autumn he told his uncle the number of students had risen to sixty and more were expected at Christmas; he himself had fourteen lectures a week and above eighty exercises to examine and correct each week.

One man who was very satisfied at the end of that year was Harford. He wrote in his private diary on 1 January 1828 'The past year has been one of great mercies - no very painful or afflictive event has befallen us - it witnessed the accomplishment of an object very near to my heart, the opening of the College of St David's last 1st March, and the consecration of its chapel on the 23rd August under auspices of learning and piety in the persons of its conductors (more especially the Vice Principal) which promises a future and rich harvest of improvement to this Diocese.'

The numbers were very encouraging to begin with but the cost to the students soon proved to be much more than Bishop Burgess had once predicted, and whilst there were a number of exhibitions, none was worth more than £20 a year. Rees did some research on this in 1829 and discovered that the lowest expenditure by a student in 1827 had been £47.2s.8d and in 1828 £55.2s.6d. - in other words Bishop Jenkinson's estimate of £55 a year had not been unrealistic. In an accompanying letter he wrote:

They come with the hope of being ordained immediately, as they have already spent their time at the Grammar Schools. The future prospect

is still more gloomy; the Schools are nearly empty, and the few that are in them will almost without exception go to the Universities. To complete the whole, rumour has currently reported that young men cannot live at St David's College at a less expense than £100 p.a. I have very little doubt that several of our men have spent that sum, who act so unfairly as to say that nearly as much was requisite for College dues.<sup>80</sup>

The college authorities issued a statement to try and counter the damage done by these rumours.

By 1833 the number of students was dropping and so tuition fees which had been £20 p.a. were lowered to twelve guineas. In a letter to the

Carmarthen Journal of 4 October of that year, the Vice Principal wrote:

The causes which are at this moment operating to the disadvantage of the College, and preventing it from being as beneficial to the community as its friends could wish, are, I feel persuaded, the two following: the smallness of its endowments, and the circumstances of its not possessing the privilege of conferring degrees. St David's College is the only institution in the Principality that can lay any claim to the character of a national institution. It is true, indeed, that the necessities of our particular diocese were the primary cause of its foundation...it was never intended to restrict its benefits within so small a sphere.

A report by the Charity Commissioners in 1836 echoed these views: 'It appears that the progress of the college has not been so successful as had been anticipated, for which the following reasons are assigned by the Principal and Professors. The want of an adequate endowment of the college, the circumstances of its not possessing the power of conferring degrees, and the fact that its members not being generally admitted as candidates for ordination by the bishops of English and North Wales dioceses.'<sup>81</sup> In 1842 an anonymous reviewer in the Christian Remembrancer attacked the college for its 'lax proceedings', a charge



Ollivant quickly refuted. The writer believed former dissenting ministers were being admitted as students without changing any of their views and being given testimonials by the staff who were Examining Chaplains to the Bishop. Ollivant showed that in the course of Jenkinson's episcopate from March 1827 to the summer of 1840 only four former non-conformist ministers had been admitted to and ordained from the college. The real trouble Ollivant insisted again was 'It must be better endowed, and enabled to hold out inducements to a better and more highly educated class of men to enter its walls... To change a national character is not the work of a day.'<sup>82</sup> Because of falling numbers and the cost of the training, the course was reduced in length from four years to three and a half in 1841. Two years previously the college had suffered a great loss in the death of Rice Rees who was not replaced by another Professor of Welsh so the teaching of the language declined.

In 1843 Ollivant returned to Cambridge to become Regius Professor of Divinity - later he would become Bishop of Llandaff. Lewellin invited Edward Harold Browne, another bishop in the making, to become vice-principal. In his letter dated 10 April 1843, Lewellin wrote:

There is a comfortable house, detached from the College, though in the grounds; a garden, stables, and coach-house. The rates and taxes of the premises are paid out of a common fund. The money income, I believe I may safely say, would average £600 per annum. The duties are not very onerous, consisting almost entirely in daily lectures with the Theological Class in Hebrew, Greek Testament, Pearson or Grotius, occupying on the whole about one and a half or two hours.

Browne accepted but stayed only six years. He was not happy with the Principal's financial maladministration of the college, calling him its

'tutor, bursar, steward, and even farmer and butcher' and complaining the college accounts were not sufficiently public. His painful and unflattering correspondence with Lewellin was recorded by his biographer after both men were dead.

The college was empowered to grant the degree of Bachelor of Divinity in 1852 but not before there had been some fierce criticism of it by opponents such as John Williams, the former Master of Lampeter School now Archdeacon of Cardigan and Warden of Llandoverly College which had been opened on St David's Day 1848 as an establishment of higher education giving prominence to the study of the Welsh language.<sup>83</sup> Friends of Lampeter sought to defend it. Ninety eight of them including six MPs and the Archdeacons of Llandaff, Montgomery and Monmouth signed a statement refuting Williams's description of the college as 'a blight and curse upon the spiritual and intellectual energies of the Principality, and... the slaughter house of the rising talent of his country.' They were 'fully persuaded that the College has already conferred very great benefits upon the Church in South Wales, by raising the character and promoting the intellectual improvement of its clergy; and that it is capable of rendering still greater services to the Principality at large if it be duly supported.'<sup>84</sup>

Sir Thomas Phillipps, writing in 1848, argued strongly that whatever the advantages educationally of Oxbridge 'The discipline of St David's College is, in fact, stricter, and the moral character of the students is more closely watched, whilst the temptations to general vice are less than at the English Universities; and although at college, as in after-life, some of the men there educated may retain the coarser habits and tastes of the humble homes they have left, and forget the



lessons of temperance, honesty, truth, to which they have there listened, yet, in religious feeling and conscientious conduct, men educated at St David's College will not contrast unfavourably with the graduates of an English university.'<sup>as</sup> He argued that the bulk of the men who would labour in the ill-endowed parishes of the diocese would be trained there, so the need was to enlarge and improve the college, and he was one of those who pressed for Lampeter to have the same privilege of conferring degrees as had been given to Durham University.

When Burgess left St David's in 1825, the college was still under construction but at least its future looked assured. The clergy of the archdeaconry of Carmarthen headed by Thomas Beynon presented an address to him, in which they listed his achievements:

Your Lordship found the diocese of St David's, in the year 1803, in a most dilapidated state in every view. The churches and ecclesiastical buildings were generally in a ruinous condition, many of the clergy were incompetently educated, and disgraced their profession by inebriety and other degrading vices; but your Lordship, by requiring a strict attention to duty from the Commissaries General and Rural Deans, succeeded in restoring the churches in some districts to a state of exemplary neatness; and by submitting to become your own examining chaplain, and requiring superior learning and theological knowledge from the candidates for Holy Orders; by enforcing the law against irregularities and by withholding institution from all who were not completely skilled in the language of their parishioners; your Lordship has gradually furnished the diocese with a body of clergy much superior to that which we ever possessed before.

Your Lordship's enjoining that all candidates for orders should have passed seven years at one of the licensed grammar schools contributed materially to this reform, and your having succeeded, against many difficulties, in founding a college for the future education of candidates for the Church, has crowned your Lordship's public services.

Lord Kenyon described the college in 1826 as 'one of the most blessed works of Christian piety and devotion to a Diocese from its Bishop, that hundreds of years have furnished, and as a Welshman I am most anxious that my countrymen should duly estimate their obligations to the good Bishop.'<sup>es</sup>

By 1849 there had been four hundred and sixty-two entrants of whom at least three hundred and fifty came from the diocese of St David's. The available evidence, however, suggests that the college was not succeeding in the very things that the founder Bishop Burgess had hoped for and which Bishop Jenkinson had singled out in his original notice of January 1827. The men were not being equipped to be effective preachers and pastors in Welsh-speaking Wales; what was actually being taught was modelled on English Oxbridge.

#### NOTES

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- 6 ibid p.174
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KING'S COLLEGE, LONDON

'It is an event for me...which will be, perhaps, the only important one in my life's little history.' So wrote the Scottish poet Thomas Campbell to a friend in 1825 about his initiative to bring into being a university in England's capital city.<sup>1</sup> The idea seems to have developed in his mind after a visit to Bonn University in 1820. Campbell's friend and biographer, Cyrus Redding, claimed he had discussed the subject among his more intimate friends as early as 1821 on his return from Germany:

He had spoken of it repeatedly, and with zeal, in a small club of literary men, about a dozen in number, who met weekly in Conduit Street. He had remarked on the great utility of such establishments on the continent and in his own country. Delayed from time to time, but never laid aside, the project had been revived by him during the latter half of the year 1824, when he began to think seriously about the possibility of carrying such an institution into effect.<sup>2</sup>

This is confirmed by the papers of one of Campbell's friends, Francis Place. In a letter dated 12 February 1825 Place reported that Campbell had talked with him in June of 1824 about it - 'he said he had well considered the advantages which would result from an University, that he had carefully examined several German Universities, was well acquainted with the Scottish Universities and Colleges, was convinced that education could be provided at a small expense in a London University and he was resolved to bring his scheme before the public.' He also recorded that he had talked with him 'of his project to cause one to be established, on several occasions during the last three years.'<sup>3</sup>

Redding wrote, 'Campbell's contribution was the vision and the ideas about the internal regulations of the new institution - others had to generate the financial backing.'<sup>4</sup> Foremost among these was a Scottish lawyer-cum-politician, Henry Brougham MP, who was already making a name for himself in educational matters; another supporter was the radical politician Joseph Hume MP. Place had not shared his friend's faith that the money needed - then estimated at £100,000 - could be raised but he noted in that same letter that Joseph Hume had that day pledged to 'procure subscribers to the amount of £100,000.' On 25 January 1825 Brougham hosted a dinner party at which Campbell was a guest and his ideas were discussed. Next day Campbell told a friend that support had been promised. On 9 February The Times published a letter from him to Brougham advocating the establishment of a university in the city. Brougham's biographer claimed, 'The letter was addressed to Brougham no doubt because of his prestige, his popularity, and his recognized leadership in everything pertaining to popular education.'<sup>5</sup> Later that month at the home of John Smith MP, Campbell, Hume, Mill and Brougham met again and this time Campbell produced a paper with his plans. Further publicity was given in the pages of the April and July editions of the New Monthly Magazine which was edited by Campbell. In April a group of 'liberal Churchmen and Dissenters, with men of wealth, acquirement and respectability' met at a London tavern to promote the matter, at which Sir James Mackintosh MP, Lord John Russell, Campbell and Brougham were the main speakers.<sup>6</sup>

In his address, Brougham spoke of the "singularity" of his friend Campbell and himself having about the same time hit upon a similar idea. Afterwards Redding commented acidly, 'Depend upon it Brougham

will make himself the leader in it, and take the praise... so it turned out. The London University became a stepping-stone in Mr Brougham's march to popularity.<sup>17</sup> The fact is Brougham had floated the idea of making higher education available to all through creating not one but several new universities in his Observations on the Education of the People written the previous December. Though, as his biographer admits, 'It is altogether probable that when he wrote Observations he had heard something of Campbell's talk.'<sup>18</sup>

A friend of Brougham's, the Jewish millionaire financier and merchant, Isaac Lyon Goldsmid, lent the project his active and generous support and encouraged other Jews to do the same. A number of leading Dissenters had been considering the foundation of a university for Dissenters in London for some years and one of that scheme's proponents, the Rev Francis Augustus Cox, a wealthy Baptist minister at Hackney, joined forces with Brougham's group. Evangelicals were represented by Zachary Macauley, the Roman Catholics by the Duke of Norfolk, and among the 'progressives' was the utilitarian philosopher James Mill and George Birkbeck, the founder in 1823 of the London Mechanics' Institute. A public meeting was held on 1 July, chaired by the Lord Mayor, at which the 'London University' was formally launched. The necessary finance, it was agreed, would be raised by the sale of £100 shares. The shareholders or 'proprietors', as they were called, elected a twenty-four man Council to have control of the university's life. One of their perks was the right to nominate a student for each share held who would be admitted at a reduced fee.

By August 1825 an eight acre site in Bloomsbury had been obtained by three of the wealthiest proprietors, a liberal Whig MP, a Dissenter and



a Jew. On 11 February 1826, a 'Deed of Settlement' was signed forming a body of 'Proprietors of the University of London' and a Council was constituted whose elected chairman was Brougham, an office he held till 1868. By this stage Campbell had withdrawn from the London scene, having first gone in 1825 to the University of Berlin and on his return home been elected the Rector of Glasgow University. A prospectus was published in May 1826 which stated:

The object of the Institution is to bring the means of a complete Scientific and Literary Education home to the doors of the inhabitants of the Metropolis, so that they may be enabled to educate their sons at a very moderate expense, and under their own immediate and constant superintendence. It is known that a young man cannot be maintained and instructed at Oxford and Cambridge under £200 or £250 a year, while the expenses of many very far exceed this sum; and the Vacations last about five months in the year. The whole expense of Education at the London University will not exceed £25 or £30 a year, including the sums paid to the General Fund; and there will not be more than ten weeks of Vacation in the year. 9

They also argued the case for a university in London on the grounds of the city's population, estimated at 1,400,000, of whom they reckoned forty thousand were males between the ages of sixteen and twenty-one 'the usual period of academical education.'

The Edinburgh Review welcomed the proposed college and took the opportunity to attack Oxbridge - one advantage a London student living at home would have over them was that he would be 'less tempted to live a debauched life.'

Our objection to Oxford and Cambridge may be summed up in two words, their Wealth and their Privileges... A chartered and endowed College, strong in its wealth and in its degrees, does not find it necessary to teach what is useful, because it can pay men to learn what is useless... We every day see clever men of four and five- and-

twenty, loaded with academical honours and rewards, - scholarships, fellowships, whole cabinets of medals, whole shelves of prize books, - enter into life with their education still to begin, unacquainted with the history, the literature, we might almost say, the language of their country, unacquainted with the first principles of the laws under which they live, unacquainted with the very rudiments of moral and political science! Who will deny that this is the state of things? Or who will venture to defend it?... From these radical defects of the old foundations the London University is free... To be prosperous, it must be useful.'<sup>10</sup>

On 30 April 1827, the Duke of Sussex laid the foundation stone of the Gower Street building, and eighteen months later classes in the faculties of Arts, Law and Medicine began. One notable failure was Brougham's attempts to obtain a royal charter and then a parliamentary charter for the new institution. This failure was due in the first instance to the opposition of the Tory government and secondly of the universities of Oxford and Cambridge which did not wish London to have the right to confer degrees.'<sup>11</sup>

Right from the start, the place of Theology in the curriculum had been in doubt. In a letter to a friend dated 30 April 1825, Campbell recounted the early stages of this problem which was to result in the founding of King's College:

I have had a double-quick time of employment since I saw you. In addition to the business of the Magazine, I have had that of the University in a formidable shape. Brougham, who must have popularity among Dissenters, propounded the matter to them. The delegates, of almost all the dissenting bodies in London, came to a conference at his summons. At the first meeting, it was decided that there should be Theological chairs, partly Church of England and partly Presbyterian. I had instructed all friends of the University to resist any attempt to make us a Theological body; but Brougham, Hume, and John Smith, came away from the first meeting saying:- "We think

with you, that the introduction of Divinity will be mischievous; but we must yield to the Dissenters, with Irving at their head. We must have a theological college." I immediately waited on the Church of England Men, who had already subscribed to the number of a hundred, and said to them: "You see our paction is broken: I induced you to subscribe, on the faith that no ecclesiastical interest, English or Scotch, should predominate in our scheme; but the Dissenters are rushing in - What do you say?" They - that is, the Church of England friends of the scheme - concerted that I should go, commissioned from them, to say at the conference, that either the Church of England must predominate, or else there must be no church influence. I went with this commission; I debated the matter with the Dissenters. Brougham, Hume, and John Smith, who had before deserted me, changed sides, and came over to me. Irving and his party stoutly opposed me; but I succeeded, at last, in gaining a complete victory..." The scene concluded amicably: Lord Althorp appeared on the part of the Church, and coincided in the decision.<sup>12</sup>

The matter did not rest there. The official view of the Council was that as the university was non-residential, the responsibility for religious instruction and nurture remained a parental one, and only secular teaching need be given. At the AGM of the proprietors on 27 February 1828, Brougham strongly opposed a course of lectures on the Evidences of Christianity. The Times reported him as arguing that it was not because they disregarded religion that the Council had omitted theological lectureships, but because they deemed it 'too important to be approached lightly or inconsiderately'. They left religious instruction to parents and clergymen.<sup>13</sup> A week previous to this several of the newly appointed academic staff had met at the house of the Warden, Leonard Horner, to discuss what provisions they could make for religious instruction. On 27 May, the following advertisement appeared in The Times and other papers:



## UNIVERSITY OF LONDON

### Religious Instruction.

We, the undersigned Professors in the University of London, who are Clergymen of the Established Church, having from the period of our appointment entertained the intention of providing Religious Instruction for those students who are members of our own Church, do hereby give notice that final arrangements have been made, with the full approbation of the Council, for that purpose. An Episcopal Chapel has been purchased contiguous to the University, to be called "The University Chapel", where accommodation will be afforded to the students for a due attendance on divine service, and where a course of Divinity Lectures will be regularly delivered during the Academical Session. Parents and others interested in this arrangement, may learn further particulars, by applying to Mr. John Taylor, Bookseller and Publisher to the University, 30 Upper Gower Street.

THOMAS DALE, M. A. Camb Professor of English Language and Literature.

DIONYSIUS LARDNER, LL. D. Dublin Professor of Natural Philosophy.

JOHN WILLIAMS, M. A. Oxon Vicar of Lampeter and Professor of Roman Language and Literature.

On 4 July a meeting was held of some of the proprietors and friends of the university to see how Dale and his colleagues could be supported. A 'Theological Institution' was formed with a group of five trustees made up of four MPs and Lord Calthorpe, appointed to raise funds. Dale was to give a course of theological lectures in the coming first academic year in some temporary accommodation at 62 Gower Street. In the event only a portion of the lectures were delivered 'owing to the want of proper accommodation, the inconvenience of the hour, and several unavoidable, though temporary obstacles.'<sup>14</sup> In his opening lecture, Dale made clear that their aim was not to train future clergymen but to give laymen a grounding in the Christian Faith so

that they could answer for their beliefs. Four days after the plans for Anglican religious instruction were made public, Dr Cox and the Rev Joseph Fletcher, two Dissenting ministers, announced their plans for a course of lectures to be delivered in the neighbourhood of the university on 'The Evidence and General Principles of Revelation; the Elements of Biblical Literature, and the leading Facts of Ecclesiastical History.'<sup>15</sup> In September, the Council disowned both courses! But at least the Gower Street Institution was not to be as 'godless' as some of its critics claimed.

The trustees backing Dale's theological lectures met again on 9 May 1829 at the house of Lord Calthorpe together with a few other supporters, among them William Wilberforce and Zachary Macauley. Given the considerable public support by that date for the alternative King's College, it is surprising that the meeting recommended raising £20,000 to fund the establishment of a residential college for Anglican students in the vicinity of the university where those students 'while receiving Classical and Scientific Instruction at the University, might be subjected to Moral and Religious discipline.'<sup>16</sup> In the end nothing came of this venture.

Dale and his colleagues reflect the opposition felt inside the university to the Council's principle of no religious instruction. The opposition felt outside was far greater, resulting in what Bishop Lloyd of Oxford called a 'rival college.' Hugh James Rose sounded the first note in a sermon preached on Commencement Sunday 1826 at Cambridge when he attacked the dominant secularism and utilitarianism of the age. The high church quarterly theological review owned by Joshua Watson The British Critic carried a lengthy article in its January 1827 issue

which was critical of these same principles which it saw in the prospectus of the proposed university. 'We would much rather see a Dissenters University established in London in the next street to an University for members of the Church, and in open and fair opposition to it, or even a Deists' University instituted in the same way, than one like the present which professes to admit all other ingredients of knowledge, and rejects religion as something unwholesome and unpalatable.' '7 Almost inevitably, the question was then raised - why not found a second college?

This became a firm proposal when Rose's close friend, the Rev George D'Oyly the Rector of Lambeth, wrote an open letter under the pseudonym of Christianus to Peel, the recently appointed Home Secretary who was known to favour education with a religious bias. D'Oyly was a very wealthy clergyman with many influential connections. A former domestic chaplain to the Archbishop of Canterbury, it is almost certain that he had done some private lobbying in advance and so anticipated a positive response to his pamphlet A Letter to the Rt Hon Robert Peel on the subject of the London University. The heart of his attack lay in these words: 'The fundamental defect in this institution, to which I allude, the entire omission of everything connected with Christianity among the tops of instruction which are to be imparted to the youth received there for education. Professors are to be appointed on every other branch of useful knowledge... but the topic of revealed religion is studiously, absolutely, and avowedly omitted.' '8

He then propounded his solution:

What steps ought to be taken to counteract the influence of an Institution formed on such defective principle? It appears to me that only one plan can be adequate and effectual; and that is to found,



either from public or from private sources, another London University, on those sound principles which may meet the wishes, and satisfy the just expectations of the nation at large. If such a plan should be carried into execution, I should earnestly hope that consultation will be held with the leading members of our two venerable Universities, so that the interests of those great and eminent Establishments might be properly secured, at the same time that the cause of sound religion and useful learning was more extensively and effectually promoted.<sup>19</sup>

D'Oyly was clearly confident that King George IV might extend his patronage to the new college and that 'he might also be pleased to present a spot of ground for the site, from the royal domains adjoining the metropolis.'<sup>20</sup>

Not all churchmen thought this was the right solution. Bishop Lloyd wrote to his friend at Hackney the Rev H.H. Norris on 2 June 'I hear that D'Oyly proposes an orthodox London University to oppose the Hereticals; but I think this will not do.'<sup>21</sup> He asked Norris to send him details of the university and of the proposed new college - 'I have great doubts whether the danger called for such a remedy for I am credibly informed that Brougham considers the London University a failure, and that no applications have yet been made for admission.'

On 21 June 1828 at the Freemason's Tavern in Westminster, the Prime Minister the Duke of Wellington, chaired a great meeting to launch the proposed college. With him on the platform were the Archbishops of Canterbury and York and the Primate of Ireland, seven other bishops and, according to press reports 'the principal nobility.' Those attending were chiefly clergymen. The meeting carried unanimously the following resolutions:

I. That it is the opinion of this meeting that a college for general

education be founded in the metropolis, in which, while the various branches of literature and science are made the subjects of instruction, it shall be an essential part of the system to imbue the minds of youth with a knowledge of the doctrines and duties of Christianity as inculcated by the United Church of England and Ireland.

II. That the king having been graciously pleased to signify his approbation of the establishment of this college, His Majesty be most respectfully requested to take it under his royal patronage, and permit it to be entitled "King's College, London."

III. That the following be approved as the general outline of the plan on which the college is to be founded and conducted. [Then come seven conditions respecting the curriculum, organisation and government of the college.]

IV. That a Provisional Committee of twenty-seven persons be now appointed which shall take all necessary steps for carrying these resolutions into effect, and prepare the details to be submitted to a future meeting.

[Then come the names of the twenty-seven and of the secretary, Mr H. N. Coleridge.]<sup>22</sup>

The Archbishop of Canterbury was to be the Visitor to the College and the following were to be Governors by virtue of their office: the Lord High Chancellor, the Archbishop of York, the Bishop of London, the Lord Chief Justice, the Home Secretary, the Speaker of the House of Commons, the Dean of St Paul's and the Dean of Westminster and the Lord Mayor of London. With so many of the great and the good supporting it, it seemed the venture could not fail. It was agreed that work would not start until £100,000 had been raised. This target was quickly achieved. By 17 September, the Secretary could report that £109,631.8s. had come in as donations and share money. £100 shares were sold which entitled the shareholder to preference in nominating students. The king donated land



next to Somerset House in the Strand as a site, but financial problems were encountered when a good number of Protestant supporters withdrew their support in protest at the part played by Wellington and Peel in 1829 which allowed the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts. Among the original donors are listed the Rev William Ainger DD of St Bees who gave ten guineas and Dr Thomas Burgess, now the Bishop of Salisbury, who gave £200.

On 7 November 1828, Peel wrote to his old tutor at Oxford, Charles Lloyd, asking for his views; the bishop replied on the 10th:

Everything relating to the rules and ordinances of King's College must, as it appears to me, be considered with reference to the peculiar circumstances under which it was founded. Though it does not profess to be a rival College, yet it is so in fact: and everybody so understands it. It is supported therefore in the main by those who wish ill to the London University; and who look upon this College as a safeguard against the dangers of the other. The Bishops, the Clergy, and the two Universities and those among the Laity who are friendly to those three bodies have accordingly come forward - some zealously - some professing a show of zeal in favour of King's College. Which things being so, it is of the last importance that nothing should be done which might, even accidentally excite the alarm and jealousy of any of the aforesaid bodies; and I am well satisfied that if any alteration should now be made on the Liberal side, a cry would be raised, and much offence taken.<sup>23</sup>

As a safeguard, Lloyd suggested that the professorships should be thrown open only to graduates of the Universities and members of the Church of England:

As to degrees, I should be exceedingly glad if I could entertain a hope that the Universities could be persuaded to consent to their being granted. I should be rejoiced at it - but I think a silent pledge was given that no such thing should be thought of. A middle measure has been proposed to me, which if the Archbishops and Bishops



could be persuaded to propose to the Universities, might perhaps be accepted by them and would be attended with very good effects. It is this - That all young men who had attended King's College for four years, who brought with them Recommendations and Testimonials from the officers of that College should be admitted to examination at Oxford - and after passing that examination be admitted to the degree of A.B., and so afterwards regularly on to the higher degrees. This appears to me a very reasonable and better digested proposal, and I would vote for it very heartily. I throw it out to you, in order that you may mention it quietly to others, so as to make it a topic of conversation, and see how it takes. But it is early yet a while for these things. A Charter would be a very good thing at all events - but you would probably be driven also to give a Charter to the London University.<sup>24</sup>

The college received its royal charter on 14 August 1829. This brought to an end the life of the Provisional Committee and replaced it with a College Council whose foremost activists were Bishop Blomfield of London and George D'Oyly. When the Council met on 1 April 1830, it accepted the recommendation of its Education Committee that 'a Principal be appointed who, in addition to the general superintendence of the college, shall have the particular charge of the religious and moral instruction of the students, that his salary be £800 p.a.'<sup>25</sup> Another fourteen months elapsed before it was announced that the Rev William Otter MA had been appointed Principal of the college and Lecturer in Divinity. On 29 June 1831, he attended a meeting of the Council and formally accepted the post.

A sixty-three year old parish priest with two livings in Shropshire in addition to his London parish does not seem an obvious choice for the post! The fact that D'Oyly was married to Otter's wife's sister and had appointed him to the newly erected church of St Mark's Kennington

was probably the most influential factor in favour of his appointment to King's! He did, however, have firsthand experience as an educator, having been a headmaster in Cornwall for five years and a tutor at Cambridge for eight, but that was over a quarter of a century earlier, though he had not lost his interest in educational matters.

The historian of King's, F.J.C. Hearnshaw, thought his charm of character particularly suited him for the job:

Among his recommendations for the King's College post were his marked moderation in both politics and religion, and in general his admirable sweet-reasonableness. He was a man excellently calculated to allay animosities, to close controversies, to soothe sensibilities, and to promote peace. It was an advantage, too, that in politics his affinities were rather with the whigs than with the tories: hitherto King's College had been too closely bound up with toryism... No one was in a better position to reconcile the conflicting principles, and harmonize the antagonistic interests, of the rival colleges of Westminster and Bloomsbury.<sup>26</sup>

He was also a moderate in churchmanship and so would likely ensure the infant college did not become too closely associated with either extreme.

In July 1831, there was published a Preliminary Statement of the Arrangements for Conducting the various Departments of King's College London. Fees were to be twenty-five guineas a term or £21 if nominated by a proprietor, and there were to be three terms a year. There would be both Junior and Senior Departments, the former being in effect a grammar school admitting pupils from the age of nine. There were to be three categories of students: a) King's College Students, b) King's College Medical Students, and c) Occasional Students attending one or more lectures. The prescribed course would embrace 'Religious and Moral

Instruction, in conformity with the principles of the Established Church, the Greek and Latin Classics, Mathematics, English Literature and Composition, History and Logic.'<sup>27</sup> Under the heading of Theology it was stated 'The Principal will commence a course of Lectures on Theology in the early part of October, and will continue them twice a week during every Term. These lectures will embrace the Evidences of Natural and Revealed Religion, and the Doctrines of Christianity, in conformity with the principles of the Established Church, and they will be open to Students of every description without payment of any fee.'<sup>28</sup>

On 8 October 1831, the college was formally opened by the Archbishop of Canterbury. The bishops attending the ceremony had come from an all-night sitting of the House of Lords at which they had helped vote down the second Reform Bill. Bishop Blomfield preached on the relationship of religion to education, the issue which had stirred men such as H.J. Rose and D'Oyly to call for the founding of another college in London. Blomfield's theme is well expressed in this one sentence: 'Our desire is to erect the shrine of science and literature within the precincts of the sanctuary; to lay the foundations of public usefulness and individual happiness on the ground of right principle; and to promote the best interests of society by methods which tend to the glory of God.'<sup>29</sup>

It is worth noting that Brougham had welcomed the founding of King's College. In a letter to the Secretary of the London University Council which was published next day in The Times, he wrote: 'That the means of complete academic education on the soundest principles of universal admission will now be secured to the inhabitants of London and its



neighbourhood, can no longer admit of a doubt and I look forward to the establishment of another institution arising out of ours as increasing those means in the same way that the National schools have so greatly promoted the system of education begun by the British and Foreign Society. The rivalry of the two seminaries will be salutary to both and useful to the community, nor can any true friend to either regard the other with any unfriendly feeling.'<sup>30</sup> Brougham's view that King's arose out of the earlier college was one shared by the Dean of York who wrote to him on 4 August 1828:

You may justly be proud of the diffusion of education in London. If you had never set on foot the London University, nobody would ever have thought of King's College. You may honestly lay claim to have founded both.<sup>31</sup>

The college quickly attracted students; by the end of the first session there were 66 regular students and 149 occasional ones in the Higher Department, 48 regular and 149 occasional students in the Medical Department, and 162 juniors. At this stage no degrees were awarded and a number of students went on to Oxford or Cambridge. In 1834 the Council revised the course of studies which now consisted of Divinity, Mathematics, Classics and English, and recommended that students should attend for three years at the end of which they would be entitled to a certificate naming them Associates of King's College (AKC). The certificate was awarded only to those who had 'passed with credit through the course prescribed' and whose general conduct and attendance at the services in the college chapel had been satisfactory.

Each day began with prayers in the chapel at 10 a.m. On Mondays at 1 p.m., Principal Otter gave his Divinity lecture and the class was examined in the same at 1 on Fridays. In 1835 he added 'some of the

most important portions of Ecclesiastical History' to his lectures. The books used for this course were few - Butler, Paley and the Greek Testament. Every Sunday morning he preached in the college chapel and students were expected to attend unless they were going with parents or guardians to some other place of Anglican worship. The students were receiving in effect as much theological instruction and attending worship as frequently as Oxbridge undergraduates but unlike them this was still not regarded as a preparation for ordination. The Council had also appointed a Chaplain to the college from the outset.

On 19 August 1836, Otter tendered his resignation as Principal on his appointment to the see of Chichester. His long years of faithful support for the Whig cause was at last rewarded. His connection with King's and with London did not end, for the Government had finally decided in 1835 to grant a charter to the University of London allowing it to award degrees in Arts, Medicine and Law. Bishop Otter was one of those appointed to the founding Senate in the royal charter of 28 November 1836. Students of King's College and of University College and of other bodies to be named later by the Crown were to be admitted to examination for degrees on evidence of attendance at courses of study. At this stage the university was in reality simply an examining board with no control over the teaching.

The Rev Dr Thomas Arnold, Headmaster of Rugby School, was another churchman invited to be a member of the Senate. Arnold accepted with the intention of giving a religious influence to the proceedings. He fully accepted the non-sectarian nature of the university but argued that a graduate in Arts ought to be knowledgeable in the Christian Faith. He wrote to Bishop Otter on 30 April 1837 arguing this case:

I also find it expressly declared in our charter, that we are founded for the advancement of "Religion and Morality." And this seems to lead to the exact conclusion which I most earnestly approve of, that we are to be a Christian University, but not a Romanist one, nor a Protestant, neither exclusively Church of England, nor exclusively Dissenting. "Religion," in the king's mouth, can mean only Christianity.<sup>32</sup>

Knowledge of the Scriptures, however interpreted by different denominations, seemed to him to be necessary and should be examined:

Let every candidate for a Degree bring up at his own choice some one Gospel and some one Epistle in the Greek Testament. Let him declare on coming before us, to what communion he belongs. We know what are the peculiar views entertained by him as such, and we would respect them most religiously. But on all common ground we might examine him thoroughly, and how infinite would be the good of thus proving, by actual experience, how much more our common ground is than our peculiar ground.<sup>33</sup>

Otter and Arnold had the support of one lay member of the Senate. Professor J.H. Jerrard in a letter at a later date to Peel requesting some preferment set out his part in this episode:

My exertions in getting Scriptural Examinations established at the University, in the face of a large and influential Party by whom all such Examinations were, at first, violently opposed. My two Colleagues on the Sub-Committee that proposed these Examinations (the late Bishop Otter and Dr Arnold of Rugby) requested me, as being, at that time, a layman, and thus free from much of the obloquy to which they were exposed, to bear the brunt of the battle on that occasion. This I cheerfully did - although the increasing anxiety and labour in which the agitation of the question for some months involved me, were such as severely to try my health.<sup>34</sup>

In the end all the Senate would agree to was a Voluntary Examination in the New Testament; candidates were required to show a competent knowledge of any two of four subjects for examination, viz the Hebrew



text of the book Genesis, the Gospel of Luke, Paley's Evidences and Butler's Analogy, and Scripture History.

In Arnold's view this at least saved the university from the reproach of neglecting Christianity altogether but it did not maintain the principle which he wished. In June he wrote to the Bishop of Norwich, a newly appointed member of the Senate, 'I cannot disguise from myself that the University of London in its public capacity, cannot be considered as a Christian institution, although it may happen that all its branches individually may be Christians; and therefore I must withdraw from it.'<sup>35</sup> His letter of resignation to the Chancellor of the university, the Earl of Burlington, was penned from Rugby on 7 November 1838. The lack of enthusiasm by the authorities of King's College was the final blow to his hopes:

After the full discussion given to the question, on which I had the misfortune to differ from the majority of the Senate, I felt that it would be unbecoming to agitate the matter again, and it only remained for me to consider whether the institution of a voluntary Examination in Theology would satisfy, either practically or in theory, those principles which appeared to me to be indispensable. I did not wish to decide this point hastily, but after the fullest consideration and inquiry I am led to the conclusion that the voluntary Examination will not be satisfactory. Practically I fear it will not, because the members of King's College will not be encouraged by their own authorities, so far as I can learn, to subject themselves to it; and the members of the University College may be supposed, according to the principles of their own society, to be averse to it altogether. But even if it were to answer practically better than I fear it will do, still it does not satisfy the great principle that Christianity should be the base of all public education in this country.<sup>36</sup>

The Principal of King's during these two years that Arnold was fighting for an examination in the NT and in Scripture History was Hugh

James Rose, the clergyman whose Cambridge sermon in 1826 had called for the reunion of sound learning with religious education. In 1832 he had founded the British Magazine and Monthly Register of Religious and Ecclesiastical Information to propagate his views and later to lend support to the Tractarian cause. He had links with D'Oyly, having served a curacy with him at Buxted after his ordination in 1818, and like D'Oyly he had served as the Hulsean Christian Advocate in the University of Cambridge. In 1830 the Archbishop of Canterbury had conferred on him the rectory of Hadleigh in Suffolk, where some of the future leaders of the Tractarian movement met in 1833. His curate at that time was R.C. Trench, later to become one of the first Professors of Theology at King's. Bishop Van Mildert persuaded him to be the first Professor of Divinity at the newly established University of Durham in 1833. His stay there was short-lived, just two terms before he returned to London on the pretext of ill-health and the new duties he would have as a domestic chaplain to the Archbishop of Canterbury. He was also instituted to the rectory of Fairstead in Essex in 1834 and to the perpetual curacy of St Thomas Southwark. Joshua Watson, the lay leader of the high church Hackney Phalanx, advised him to succeed Otter at King's; he was appointed and took up his duties immediately in October 1836.

Three months later, the College Council made its position clear with regard to the newly founded examining university: 'His Majesty having been pleased to incorporate a university in London by a charter which includes the students of this college in the number of those who may be candidates for degrees, the council of the college think it right to make a declaration of their adherence to the principles upon which the

institution confided to their management was founded and has been conducted. The council retain, unqualified and unmodified, their deep and thorough persuasion that there is no other sure foundation for national education than the doctrines of the Christian religion...'<sup>37</sup>

This was exactly the view that Rose held. A year later, he wrote to the Chancellor of the university protesting against those who would hinder the introduction of an examination in the Greek text of the NT and in Scripture History. The letter was also signed by three of his professorial colleagues, Hall, Browne and Dale - 'We are of opinion that no system of examination which should positively exclude the subjects named in the proposed regulation could possibly be said to give encouragement to a "regular and liberal course of education," but must from whatever point it may be viewed, or whatever its merits in other regards may be, be considered as greatly defective. It is consequently our opinion that the introduction of the subjects in question would be, to say the least, essential to the efficacy of any such examination, and we can add that we have every reason to believe that it would be most acceptable to a very large and influential class of the community.'<sup>38</sup>

Rose did not live to see the first degree examinations, having died in Florence in 1838, but he was presumably responsible for the King's students holding aloof from them. Of the first seventeen Arts graduates in 1839, only four were students at King's. Whilst students were discouraged from taking the degree examinations, the Senior Department at King's declined in numbers. By 1845 there were 181 Arts graduates but of these just 16 had been at King's compared with 72 from University College; the rest were mainly from Dissenter and Roman



Catholic colleges.<sup>39</sup>

Dr John Lonsdale, Rector of St George's Bloomsbury, who had declined an invitation in 1830 to become the college's first principal now succeeded Rose in 1839 in that office; five years later he became Bishop of Lichfield. The Council in the annual report recorded their appreciation of 'the advantages which the College has derived during the last five years, from the rare combination of learning and judgement, of firmness and gentleness, which has marked his administration of its discipline.'<sup>40</sup> Perhaps his most important contribution was appointing the Rev F.D. Maurice in 1840 Professor of English Literature and History. On Lonsdale's elevation to the episcopate, friends tried to persuade Maurice to apply for the post of principal but he refused.

On 15 December 1843 the College Council appointed Dr Richard William Jelf, canon of Christ Church Oxford and one time fellow of Oriel as principal. The Minute records the decision that from now on the principal would be invited to meetings of the Council and of the Committee of Education and Buildings. Jelf was to have a far greater influence on the running of the college than any of his predecessors. He had been out of the country for much of the time that the Oxford movement was growing, having been appointed in 1826 tutor to Prince George of Cumberland, the future King of Hanover. Although made a canon of Christ Church in 1830, he did not return to take up residence until 1839. His university sermon in 1842 Via Media, or the Church of England our Providential Path between Romanism and Dissent marked him out as a safe moderate. F.D. Maurice's son said of him, 'It would scarcely have been possible for the governing body of King's College - anxious above all things to avoid the falsehood of extremes - to hit upon a man more

marked out by circumstances as par excellence the representative *via media* man. His natural kindliness of disposition, and strict conformity to the current opinions of the day, were qualities that greatly enhanced his qualifications for the post.<sup>41</sup>

Jelf is remembered primarily for his part in the controversy roused by Maurice's opinions expressed in his Theological Essays (1853), yet his abiding and great contribution to the college was undoubtedly his establishing a Theological Department in 1846. This we shall now look at in some detail.

The first reference to it appears in the Council Minutes of 3 January 1846. (See Vol 2 Appendix 6 A for the full text) A detailed plan which had already been generally approved by the Visitor, the Archbishop, and by the Bishop of London in his capacity as Diocesan, was submitted for consideration. Jelf argued that the course of studies at King's was comparable in standard to that of the ancient universities: 'The course of Divinity in particular is fully equal to the average standard of what is necessary to attain an Academical Degree; comprising an accurate knowledge of the Gospels in Greek, and of the Historical Books of the Old Testament; a systematic study of the XXXIX Articles of the Church of England, during three years; Paley's Evidences and Butler's Analogy. In this as in all other branches of instruction, the accuracy of the knowledge acquired is continually tested by weekly and terminal Examinations on paper.'<sup>42</sup>

King's men were being given a comprehensive general education; what was lacking for those wishing to be ordained was a more professional training. Jelf argued, 'all the materials are at hand for a sound Theological education and even Professors are already provided in other



Departments of the College, who might be immediately employed in training such Students as have attained the rank of Associates.'<sup>43</sup> His reasons for this new department were as follows: 'I would respectfully submit, that the circumstances of our times appear to allow of some relaxation of the rule which has generally been observed; viz. that the Candidates for Ordination shall (with very rare exceptions) be graduates of one of our Universities. The multiplication of small benefices, without any adequate increase of the accommodations, or diminution of the expenses, within the Colleges of either University, seems to call for a race of men, who, equally well qualified with Graduates in point of actual acquirements, (belonging also to the same class in society,) have not been called upon to undergo a large expenditure with little hope of a proportional maintenance in the Ministry of the Church.' There then followed a ten point plan for establishing a theological department.

The Annual Report for 1846 expanded on Jelf's reasons: 'It had long been felt, that a College, founded upon the principle of combining all secular learning with religious training, could not fully attain, even that end, without making a direct effort for the cultivation of sound Divinity itself; that the establishment of a School for Theology, in immediate connexion with the Church, would be the key-stone of the Academical system; and that King's College would thus gradually become, not so much a preparation for the Universities, as a final step, both to the other learned professions, and to the ministry of the Church. The time also appeared to be highly favourable to such a measure: the multiplication of small benefices, and the deficiency in the number of Clergy, compared with the increasing population, appearing to call for



an additional supply of persons duly qualified to satisfy the growing wants of the Church.'<sup>44</sup>

This statement about the College's aspirations and Jelf's proposals mark a definite move away from the kind of accord which the Bishop of Oxford had referred to in his letter to Peel in 1828 about the then proposed college. Even the liberal Dr Arnold stated once, 'I have no wish to have Degrees in Divinity, conferred by the London University, or to have a Theological Faculty; I am content with Degrees in Arts.'<sup>45</sup> The opposition of the two universities in 1834 to a charter for London was only dropped on the understanding that no degrees in theology were to be awarded. Jelf's proposals challenged all this for they included the suggestion that the charter be supplemented to establish an examination for a 'Licentiate in Theology.' This aspect of the proposed development was played down, and the pastoral needs of the national Church emphasized. Jelf was mistaken in his assertion that non-graduates were only 'very rarely' ordained; hundreds of such men from St Bees and Lampeter had been ordained by 1846.

What Jelf was proposing was, in effect, a post-graduate institution, for which there were two good precedents at Chichester and Wells; in his original plan only Oxbridge graduates and AKCs (whom he regarded as being on a par academically) were to be admitted to the theological department. And he was tacitly accepting the frequently voiced criticism that ordinands needed some professional training after their years at university. A view which had been given some attention at Oxford and Cambridge in the early 1840s and produced the modest reforms noted in the first two chapters. There was also the precedent of the Divinity Department at the University of Durham which admitted

graduates. Equally influential on his thinking was his involvement in 1845 in the founding of yet another theological training establishment, St Augustine's College at Canterbury.

Both he and Bishop Lonsdale of Lichfield who still served on the Council at King's were members of the 'Provisional Committee' for St Augustine's. This body first met on 6 May 1845 to draw up a statement for publication explaining the object and status of the proposed college and asking for financial support. The hope was that the new college which was to train clergy for the colonies would open in 1846 but the buildings were not completed until two years later. The planning committee met regularly in the Council chamber at King's. Jelf conceived his plan for King's own theological department whilst sharing in the deliberations on St Augustine's. There is a striking similarity between some of the details in Bishop Coleridge's suggestions for the one establishment written in 1845 and part of what Jelf included in his plan presented to Council in January 1846, e.g. 'I would particularly mention the art of congregational singing, and a moderate but, so far as it goes, a sound knowledge of medicine.'<sup>46</sup> These two suggestions also appear together as Point VIII in Jelf's original plan for King's. The Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London were both active supporters of the Canterbury project and kept informed of its progress, and without their support Jelf's proposals for King's could not succeed. Indeed, the preamble to his 'memorial' presented to the Council referred explicitly to the approval already given by those two dignitaries to his proposals, presumably because they recognized the one was as desirable as the other. Would the theological department at King's have come into being when it did if Jelf had not been involved



in the other project? Certainly both were in his thoughts at the very same time. And just as St Augustine's was to be a residential college, so too Jelf proposed that a hall of residence, 'King's Hall', should be established for his post-graduate theological students. Nor was there to be any doubt about the nature of the new institution. It was not simply an additional faculty in a university college. It was to be an Anglican institution whose members would be required to subscribe to the XXXIX Articles of the Church of England, a requirement not made of students in the college's Senior Department. What was coming into being was an establishment for training men professionally for the ordained ministry.

The Council gave general approval to the plan and referred his memorial 'to the attentive consideration of the Committee of Education at their next meeting.' Six days later Council met again and now accepted an amended thirteen point plan for the new department, the last of which authorized the Principal to take immediate steps to announce the opening of the department at the beginning of the ensuing Easter Term. (See Vol 2 Appendix 6 B )

Lectures started on 21 April 1846, less than fifteen weeks after the idea was first put to Council. A significant amendment allowed a third category of student to be admitted in addition to Oxbridge graduates and AKCs; these were 'persons who after having been examined and reported as fit by the Principal, shall be recommended by a Bishop; may be admitted as Students in Theology.' The training was to be practical as well as academic for there were to be 'opportunities of acting as District Visitors under the direction of the Parochial Clergy; and also for enabling them to become practically acquainted with the best



methods of conducting schools.' The 1846 College Calendar stated: 'The object in view in this Department of King's College is to provide a system of sound Theological Instruction, essentially practical in its nature, for the large and important class of young men who propose to offer themselves as Candidates for Holy Orders.'<sup>47</sup>

Jelf reported to the Council on 13 February that both Archbishops and twenty-one diocesan bishops had undertaken to receive as candidates for Holy Orders King's men who came with the college testimonial. At that same meeting the clerical members were constituted a special committee with the task of appointing three Professors of Divinity without delay, and four days later they recommended the Rev Dr Alexander McCaul DD, the Rev F.D. Maurice MA and the Rev R.C. Trench MA should be appointed. The Minutes of the Clerical Committee and of the Council give no indication of whether other names were considered or how much influence Jelf had. Maurice's own personal correspondence, however, does throw some light on it.

He wrote to his future wife, Archdeacon Julius Hare's sister, on 14 January 1846, i.e. a whole month before the question of appointments was raised at a Council meeting:

I think it is now probable that we shall leave Guy's. They are establishing a theological department at King's College, which is likely to exercise an important influence. Dr Jelf has asked me to be one of the professors; and I have agreed to give up this place.<sup>48</sup>

On 18 February, the day after the clerical committee met to make its recommendations about staff appointments, he wrote to his friend R.C. Trench:

You, of course, have heard from Dr Jelf that our appointments are virtually made, and only wait for the formal confirmation of the Council and the Visitor. I hardly know how to write to you about

them, for I feel the deepest thankfulness that it has been ordered so... But I know that I did and do feel that this movement is one of great and permanent importance, which must fail if it do not begin in the best spirit, and under the best direction, and this, more than all personal feeling, really led me to speak of you to Dr Jelf, and to press your acceptance of the office, troublesome as I know it must, for some time at least, prove to you. I cannot tell you how very solemn my own part in the work seems to me.<sup>49</sup>

These two letters indicate that it was Jelf who was really determining these crucially important appointments, just as it was he who had planned the department. At that same meeting of the Council on 13 February, he presented another written 'memorial' which was referred to the Committee of Education and Buildings for their careful consideration. It reads:

My Lords and Gentlemen,

The establishment of a Theological Department in this College, being now completed, it becomes necessary to make such further arrangements as may be considered indispensable to the full success of the plan. I beg leave therefore to call your attention to the expediency of providing, as soon as possible, some Building in the nature of an Academical Hall, where such of the Theological Students as do not reside with their Parents may be boarded and lodged in a plain and economical, but suitable manner, and placed under the immediate superintendence of a Dean, or some other Officer, appointed by the Council. So important does this object appear to me, that, if circumstances had permitted it, I should willingly have included it, as an essential part, in my original proposal; but the necessity for undivided attention to the primary object, and subsequent official occupations, obliged me to postpone its consideration. If the Council should think the subject worthy of their attention, I would suggest the propriety of appointing a Sub-Committee to consider, and report upon, the best method of carrying the design into execution.<sup>50</sup>

The Committee of Education and Buildings duly considered the matter



in March, having gained the Archbishop's approval for the scheme, but the Council decided on 3 April to postpone action 'until the wants of the Theological Class are more fully ascertained.' On 10 June, a letter from Dr Todd was read to the Committee requesting the Council 'to proceed forthwith upon the proposed new rooms for the residence of Students and stating that he had good hopes that Mr Watson, to whose exertions the College was already indebted for £1,150 towards this object, would provide the remaining £150, as well as the sum necessary for the cost of furniture.'<sup>51</sup> Another year was to elapse, however, before the house at 162 The Strand was acquired and adapted as a hostel. It was Maurice who re-activated the issue in May 1847 by writing to the Council, asking them to license one or more boarding houses for the residence of theological students. In June a suitable property came on the market and was leased for twenty-one years at an annual rent of £250. The Council Minutes of 30 June 1847 recorded an important condition which was to apply to all future theological students:

The recommendation of the Committee was approved for placing the whole of the resident Students under the charge of some proper person to be approved by the Principal, and it was resolved that in the event of the plan for the Theological Students residences taking effect, Mr Plumptre's offer of undertaking such superintendence for one year in consideration of rooms and commons being found for him within the College be accepted. It was also resolved that all future Theological Students be required to reside in the College so far as residences can be provided for them, unless in such cases as shall be excepted at the discretion of the Principal.<sup>52</sup>

The regulations and charges for residence were also agreed at this meeting. (See Vol 2 Appendix 6 C)



The Council accepted a recommendation from the Committee for Education that a class be established 'for the Instruction of Candidates for admission to the Theological Department - that none should be received into this Class under twenty years of age, that the fees should be fixed at eight guineas per term with the same entrance fees as in the cases of Theological students, and that for the present this Class should be placed under the charge of the Rev E.H. Plumptre with the remuneration of five guineas p.a. for each Student.'<sup>53</sup>

The 1847 College Calendar explained more precisely the nature of this class. 'In order to provide systematic instruction for those persons who at a more advanced age than usual wish to qualify themselves by their classical attainments for the entrance examination, a new class has been formed, under the name of "The Class of Theological Candidates". No one is admitted before the age of twenty; no limit is assigned to the continuance of this preparatory course of study; but no length of time spent in this preliminary class will entitle the Student to any diminution of the six terms which must be devoted to study in the Theological Department itself.'

The new department was immediately successful and grew steadily. The 1847 Annual Report listed 31 students by name as 'Matriculated Students in the Theological Department'. A year later there were 50 plus 5 in the Class of Theological Candidates, in addition to 359 students in the other three departments of the college and 460 pupils in the school. The 1849 Report listed 81 in the Theological Department and Preparatory Class, and described another development: 'The students have also, with the kind permission and co-operation of the Vicar of St Martin's in the Fields, and with the sanction, and superintendence of the Principal,

set on foot an evening school for indigent children and adults. They attend, each in turn, to conduct the instruction. It is obvious that such a plan, when fully organized, must tend very much to further the practical working of the Theological Department towards training the students for their future parochial labours.'<sup>54</sup>

Extra provision was made for the resident theological students in the form of a daily evening service throughout term in addition to the morning service which all students had to attend. The 1850 Report referred to an

annual course of lectures on the physical condition of the poor, with particular bearing on the management of a parish. It is now generally admitted, that little progress can be made in the attempt to persuade men to be Christians, so long as their physical condition is degraded below the level of humanity. It seems essential to the full success of the Pastoral Office, with respect even to its primary objects, that the health and outward well-being of the Parishioners should be, in their degree, cared for, as necessary though secondary elements in the cure of souls.<sup>55</sup>

The department's success created two further needs - more space and more staff - which the Council had to meet. As early as February 1846, the Chairman was asked to approach H.M. Government about the use of part of Somerset House, though nothing came of this. The Council Minutes of 10 March 1848 record that an application had been received from the Theological professors 'begging that some room should be assigned to their use in which they may assemble their whole Class at one time.' The solution Council decided on was hardly ideal - they purchased £70 worth of movable desks 'to be placed in the central area of the Large Hall.'<sup>56</sup>

Already in 1836 the growing number of students in the 'Senior

Department had necessitated the appointment of two tutors to assist the professors, one of whom was also appointed as chaplain to assist with the services in the chapel. In the second term of the theological department, when the need for more staff was again being felt, the Council Minutes for 9 October 1846 record:

The subject of the appointment of a new Chaplain was taken into consideration - Upon the recommendation of the Principal it was RESOLVED that the future Chaplain should be also appointed a Lecturer in Divinity for the purpose of assisting the Professors of the Theological Department, and that it should be incompetent for him to accept any other charge out of the College. The salary was fixed at £200 p.a. for the Chaplaincy, and £2 p.a. for each of the Theological Students. The Clerical members of the Council were appointed a Committee to select and recommend to the Council a proper person to hold the appointment.<sup>57</sup>

Five candidates were duly interviewed by the Bishop of London and Archdeacon Harrison, and a former student at King's and subsequently fellow of Brasenose College Oxford, the Rev Edward Hayes Plumptre, was appointed on 13 November. We have already noted two other responsibilities he took on - as first censor of the hall of residence and as lecturer in classics in the preparatory theological class. In June 1848, the Rev Michael Biggs was appointed a theological tutor who also assisted with the preparatory class, and in December 1849 the Rev Algernon Sydney Thelwall was appointed lecturer in public reading.

The success of the theological department must have been due in some measure to the three professors chosen by Jelf at the outset and to his capable leadership of the new enterprise. We can take a brief look at these three remarkable men.

Alexander McCaul was born in 1799 in Dublin. His biographer, his son,



claimed that by the age of twelve he had completed the entire course of classical studies in his school and was ready , though too young, for university. He entered Trinity College Dublin at the age of fifteen, graduated at twenty and commenced reading for a fellowship. Instead of an academic life at Dublin, he went to Poland at the age of twenty-two as a missionary to the Jews; from there he went to Russia to meet Tsar Alexander to obtain protection for the mission in Poland. Bishop Ryder ordained him to the curacy of Huntley near Gloucester at Christmas 1822 and priested him the following year. McCaul married that year and returned to Poland to head the work of the Jewish Mission and to be pastor to the English residents in Warsaw until 1830. He was by now fluent in Hebrew and German. Back in England he preached the Mission's cause. In 1837 his old university conferred the degree of Doctor of Divinity on him, and in 1840 he became the first Principal of the Hebrew College for the training of missionaries among the Jews. In 1841 when the Jerusalem bishopric was founded, he was invited by Archbishop Howley to become the first Anglican bishop there but he declined on the grounds that this honour should go to a Christian Israelite. He put forward the name of his friend Michael Solomon Alexander, Professor of Hebrew and Rabbinical Literature at King's College, who was consecrated bishop. McCaul then succeeded his friend at King's and in 1846 became one of the three first professors of divinity, his area of responsibility being the exegesis of the OT. In 1845 Blomfield collated him to a prebendal stall in St Paul's Cathedral and in 1845 the Archbishop offered him his choice of four new colonial bishoprics - Melbourne, Adelaide, Newcastle or Cape Town. He again refused episcopal office because of his work and the educational needs of his large family. He

did, however, accept the living of St Magnus in the city of London in 1850. He died in 1863. His son assessed his work in these terms, 'His great reputation for learning, the fame of his lectures, as well as his undisputed soundness in the faith, proved a signal blessing to King's College.'<sup>50</sup>

Although elected unanimously by the Council in 1840 to the staff of the college, F.D. Maurice, they eventually decided was not doctrinally sound and in 1853 they dismissed him. His dismissal simply increased his influence and he ended his academic career as Professor of Casuistry and Moral Philosophy at Cambridge. He was the son of a Unitarian minister, studied at Trinity College Cambridge but did not graduate as he refused to subscribe to the XXXIX Articles. His tutor was Julius Hare who influenced him greatly and who became one of his greatest admirers. He engaged in literary work in London but decided to become an undergraduate again, this time at Oxford with a view to being ordained in the Church of England. He entered Exeter College in 1830, graduated and was ordained in 1834. Two years later he became Chaplain of Guy's Hospital in London which office he retained after his appointment as Professor of History and English Literature at King's in 1840. One of his pupils in this early period was F.W. Farrar, later Dean of Canterbury, who has left this description of Maurice as a teacher:

Maurice's lectures were "caviare to the general." Many of the "students", as we were called, cared nothing for them, and were much more impressed by the lectures of his assistant, which were full of facts. But those of us who had any sense of reverence, or any insight into genius and character, felt that we were in the presence of a great and noble man, and were proud to be under his instruction. His lectures were meant to deal rather with the meaning and the



philosophy of history than with those details which he knew that we could derive from any ordinary handbook. Certainly, his lectures were a strong intellectual stimulus to those of us who were at all capable of rightly apprehending them.<sup>59</sup>

Whilst at Guy's, Maurice wrote what is probably his greatest work The Kingdom of Christ; or Hints on the Principles, Ordinances, and Constitution of the Catholic Church, in letters to a member of the Society of Friends, the first edition of which appeared in 1838. It was Julius Hare who in 1843 pressed him to apply for the post of Principal at King's; in his reply, Maurice set out the reasons why he would be a hopeless failure in that job but telling what he would love to do, 'If I might realise my own dreams of preferment, it would be that of a Tutor in Divinity and Moral Science in some Hall at Oxford, under a Head with whom I could honestly and pleasantly co-operate. Should Jacobson be made Principal of Magdalen Hall, it would be the greatest delight to me if he would assign me this office, provided I could also have a Curacy in the City or neighbourhood.'<sup>60</sup> Three years later he became a Professor of Divinity though his lectures were in fact on Ecclesiastical History. He had been appointed in 1845 by the two Archbishops and the Bishop of London to deliver the Boyle and Warburton Lectures which he did in the following year and published subsequently as The Religions of the World and The Epistle to the Hebrews. It was probably this appointment which encouraged Jelf to believe Maurice could be safely appointed a professor in the new theological department. Already by 1848 Jelf must have been questioning his decision for Maurice wrote in a letter: 'My excellent Principal, Jelf, looks white, and fears I have compromised the college.'<sup>61</sup> The storm was



averted on that occasion for five more years.

The last member of the professorial trio had also been an undergraduate at Trinity College Cambridge where he came under the influence of Maurice. He was made Deacon in 1832 and ordained Priest in 1835. He first served a curacy with H.J. Rose at Hadleigh and later became curate to Samuel Wilberforce at Alverstoke, so he was well connected. In 1841 he published his Notes on the Parables and was about to publish his Notes on the Miracles when he was appointed, at Maurice's suggestion, by Jelf to King's. These two books were to prove his most popular, the first went through fifteen editions and the second through thirteen. In 1847 Wilberforce, now Bishop of Oxford, appointed him one of his chaplains. At King's he was responsible for the exegesis of the NT. If McCaul represented the low church party, Maurice the broad church, then Trench was definitely the high church man. In 1856 he became Dean of Westminster and in 1863 Archbishop of Dublin.

Judged by any standards, Jelf succeeded in appointing three unusually gifted men, the greatest of them being Maurice. Julius Hare called him 'the greatest mind since Plato' and a recent writer, B.M.G. Reardon, claims he was 'arguably the most original thinker that the nineteenth century produced in this country.'<sup>62</sup>

Blomfield showed his support and approval of Jelf and the theological training being given at King's in 1850 by discouraging a potential rival college from being established at Westminster. Dr Wordsworth, one of the residentiary canons at the Abbey, had written to the bishop about this possibility. Blomfield replied:

The notion of a Theological College, connected with the Collegiate Church at Westminster, has much to recommend it; but upon full consideration of the proposal which you have submitted to me, I see

great reason to doubt whether the benefits likely to result from it being carried into effect, are so great as to warrant the experiment... Now the fact is, that I have a sufficient supply of well-read Candidates from King's College where regular courses of theological lectures are delivered by able professors, under the care and direction of our excellent Principal, and where the Students are required to assist some of the metropolitan Clergy in visiting and teaching the poor... Twenty-five dioceses are open to the King's College Students for Admission as Candidates for Ordination, but it is hardly probable that so many Bishops will consent to receive Students from St Peter's Westminster and from King's College London, as distinct theological seminaries.<sup>63</sup>

He suggested that if sufficient money could be raised, they would be well spent in providing a residential hostel for King's students under the supervision of a staff member.

The honour of founding the theological department and nurturing it through its early years was Jelf's. By the end of our period its future seemed secure; the 1850 Calendar reported confidently:

The THEOLOGICAL DEPARTMENT appears already to realize the expectations which led to its foundation. Fifty-four Students, in the space of two years, have obtained the Principal's Certificate; and most of them, having received Holy Orders, are now discharging their sacred functions in different Dioceses. When it is remembered how large a proportion of these well-trained men would, but for the facilities afforded by the College, have been lost to the ministry of the Church, the importance of this branch of the Institution cannot be called into question.<sup>64</sup>

In a memorial sermon in 1871, Plumptre paid tribute to Jelf: 'It was given to him, as I have said, in a large measure to see his work succeed; to suggest or accept suggestions for new developments and applications of the teaching power of this College; to expand its proportions and its work until it attained something of the fulness of



the stature of an ancient university; to meet the wants of men of different classes and professions; to send not less than six hundred well-trained labourers into the service of the ministry in the Church of England.'<sup>66</sup>

The final tribute must be paid to George D'Oyly who died on 8 January 1846, five days after the College Council had first approved Jelf's proposals. D'Oyly in his original letter to Peel had stated explicitly the college would benefit solely 'those students who are destined for lay professions' and that 'the universities of Oxford and Cambridge supply ample means of educating the clergy of the Established Church', but he gave his approval to Jelf's plan. On two occasions he importuned Peel to get himself appointed Dean of Westminster, setting out as the grounds for this his past service to the Church including of course his efforts to bring King's into being; on the first occasion in December 1841 Dr Turton the Dean of Peterborough was preferred and on the second in March 1845 Archdeacon Samuel Wilberforce was appointed. In September 1842 Peel wrote to D'Oyly offering him the Deanery of Peterborough 'should that Preferment be a sufficient inducement to you to relinquish the more valuable living of Lambeth.'<sup>66</sup> He declined it. He was, however, accorded the honour by the College Council of being acknowledged its founder. When it met on 13 February 1846, the Council resolved unanimously 'that a Marble Tablet be erected in the College Chapel to the Memory of the late Dr D'Oyly in order to commemorate not only his services to the College as a most zealous and active Member of the Council but also the acknowledged fact that the design of the Institution was originally conceived by him, and that by giving the



first impulse and direction to public opinion he was virtually the founder of the College.<sup>67</sup>

#### NOTES

- 1 W. Beattie Life and Letters of Thomas Campbell, Vol 2 p.442
- 2 C. Redding Literary Reminiscences and Memoirs of Thomas Campbell, Vol 2 p.8
- 3 BM Add MSS 27823 Place Papers Vol 35 f.417 12 February 1825
- 4 C. Redding op cit. p.13
- 5 C.H. New The Life of Henry Brougham to 1830. p.361
- 6 C. Redding op cit. p.14
- 7 ibid pp.15-16
- 8 C.H. New op cit. p.360
- 9 Prospectus of the University of London 1826. p.1
- 10 Edinburgh Review Vol 43 Thoughts on the Advancement of Academical Education in England, pp.326-327,340
- 11 W. Sewell Letter on the Opposition of the University of Oxford to the Charter of the London College. See also N. Harte and J. North The World of University College London 1828-1978. pp.15-16
- 12 W. Beattie op cit. pp.440-441
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## THE UNIVERSITY OF DURHAM

Mary will tell you more of what has passed in this part of the world than I have time to particularize. We have had our share of turmoil, and the compliment has been paid me of burning me in effigy in sight of my Castle gates, with threats of demolishing windows, and so forth. It appears too that had I passed through Darlington I was to have been waylaid and personally maltreated. But all these are peccadilloes, compared with Bristol and other places, and we are now quiet again. At Harrogate we have lately passed a few days as a respite from these scenes.'

The writer was Bishop William Van Mildert, the recipient the Rev Henry Douglas, his wife's nephew, whom he appointed three years later to a stall in Durham Cathedral. The Bishop was sending him two copies of his recently published episcopal charge and used the opportunity to describe the tense times they had been living through at Auckland Castle in the autumn of 1831. His apprehension about his personal safety also featured in a letter written on 2 November to Charles Thorp, the prebendary who drew up the original plan for a university at Durham: 'In answering Lord Melbourne's letter, I took occasion to advert in pretty strong and direct terms upon the peculiarity and difficulty of my station here, marked out as I am, even by the Gentry and Magistrates of the County, in their inflammatory harangues to the populace, as an object of public execration - in consequence of which I have not only received gross insults here, but have reason to believe that it was intended, and still is, to watch an opportunity of doing me personal violence.'<sup>2</sup>

This mood of fear pervaded the secret plans for a university hatched by the bishop and two prebendaries in the late summer of 1831. Van



Mildert's unpopularity peaked after his vote was cast by proxy in the House of Lords in the early hours of 8 October against Earl Grey's revised Reform Bill. Along with twenty other bishops, he ensured the bill's defeat. Ironically on that same day, he received a letter from the Prime Minister assuring him of his unqualified approbation for the planned university.

The Reform Bill was defeated by 199 to 158. Had the bishops voted the other way, the bill would have passed with a majority of one. None of the five bishops with Durham connections supported it; these were Van Mildert, John Banks Jenkinson of St David's who was also Dean of Durham, and the Bishops of Bristol, Chester and Exeter who all held stalls there *in commendam*. Bishop Robert Gray of Bristol where the worst violence took place had his palace set on fire, and Henry Phillpotts of Exeter was burned in effigy on Guy Fawkes night in the cathedral yard outside his palace whilst men of the 7th Yeomenry cavalry guarded him inside.<sup>3</sup>

The opposition of the bishops in the House of Lords provided the radicals with a field day. Joseph Hume MP was seen in Regents Park with a large placard bearing the message: 'Englishmen - remember it was the bishops, and the bishops only, whose vote decided the fate of the Reform Bill.'<sup>4</sup> Chalked on the walls of Worcester cathedral was the slogan 'Judas Iscariot, Bishop of Worcester'.

The bishops, however, were not totally opposed to reform. George Henry Law of Bath and Wells (the founder of St Bees) in his visitation charge delivered in May and June 1831 described himself in this way - 'Bred at the feet of Gamaliel I cannot but be a friend to Reform; but it must be to a Reform, safe, temperate and just...'<sup>5</sup> All of them had

approved the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts in May 1828 which had removed the statutory obstacles to Dissenters holding public office, an admittedly very modest reform as annual Acts of Indemnity had given them this privilege for the past eighty-five years. The real significance of this reform was that the House of Commons now became in theory as well as in practice a body of mixed religious membership and could no longer be regarded as the elected House of Laity of the Church of England ruling the State in matters temporal.<sup>6</sup> And the bishops could now no longer expect to govern national life in matters spiritual. Lord John Russell, a strong protagonist of religious equality, wrote: 'It is really a gratifying thing to force the enemy to give up his first line - that none but Churchmen are worthy to serve the State; I trust we shall soon make him give up his second, that none but Protestants are.'<sup>7</sup>

W.F. Hook, famous later as Vicar of Leeds, interpreted this first modest reform similarly. He wrote in 1831, 'I refer our calamities to the Repeal of the Test Act, for then the State virtually renounced every connexion with religion. It pronounced religion to be, so far as the State is concerned, a thing indifferent.'<sup>8</sup>

Catholic emancipation was a much more contentious issue but this 'second line' was stormed on 13 April 1829 when the Roman Catholic Emancipation Bill became law. The bishops of the Church of England were divided - sixteen voting against and eight in favour; among the latter were John Bird Sumner of Chester and Jenkinson of St David's. Lord Greville, Clerk of the Privy Council, noted in his diary on 6 March 1829 'Last night Lord Wharncliffe in one House and Murray in the other commented on the general conduct of Churchmen at this crisis with a

severity which was by no means displeasing except to the bishops. I am convinced that very few years will elapse before the Church will really be in danger. People will grow tired of paying so dearly for so bad an article.'"

Interest in political reform was quickened in the summer of 1830 by the outbreak of revolution in France when Louis Philippe, Duke of Orleans, was installed as the 'citizen king'. The first parliament of William IV's reign met on 26 October 1830, and a few days later in the debate on the King's speech, Wellington the Prime Minister made his now historic statement about reform: 'I am not prepared to bring forward any measure of this nature... but I will at once declare that, as far as I am concerned, as long as I hold any station in the government of this country, I shall always feel it my duty to resist such measures when proposed by others.'"

This refusal to contemplate parliamentary reform of any kind sparked off riots in the capital necessitating the cancellation of the king and queen's procession with their ministers in the city on Lord Mayor's day. It was rumoured that a stupendous riot would take place resulting in the mass murder of the Cabinet and that the king would be held prisoner until he promised reform. Lord Durham wrote to his wife:

The Duke is execrated by the mob, who openly threaten to tear him to pieces, most unpopular with the monied men in the City, who see the funds going down every day and their prosperity not only diminished but in danger from a panic... The language of the workmen is open and undisguised. They say that if they don't get Reform they will imitate the French and the Belgians.'"

Wellington resigned and the Whig peer, Earl Grey, came to power.

Behind the high feeling about reform lay immense hardship in the



countryside and in the industrial cities. In April 1829 Lord Sefton, a fervent Whig, wrote, 'The distress in the country is frightful. Millions are starving.'<sup>12</sup> Strikes and riots took place in some cities because wages had been reduced. In the autumn of 1830 there was renewed violence in the south, with incendiary fires, rick-burning and machine-breaking in Kent. One of the first acts of the new reforming government was to ruthlessly repress the agricultural labourers. A proclamation was issued offering large rewards for the discovery of 'offenders, rioters, or burners', and promising all the Lords Lieutenant assistance in the suppression of disorder. In December a thousand rioters were brought to trial at Winchester.<sup>13</sup>

During the winter of 1830-31 the first Reform Bill was drafted by Lords Russell, Brougham and Durham, supported by some three thousand petitions sent in from the country. Russell, Paymaster General in Grey's Administration, introduced the bill in the House of Commons on 1 March. To the horror of the Tory members, he proposed to disenfranchise sixty rotten pocket boroughs totally and forty-six others partially, and to increase dramatically the representation from the big, new industrial and commercial towns which were mostly in the north. The franchise was to be extended and the House of Commons was to be reduced to 621 members. At the bill's second reading on 23 March, the government had a majority of one in the fullest house on record, 302:301. On 18 April they suffered a defeat by a majority of eight on the proposal that the number of members ought not to be diminished. At Grey's request, the king dissolved parliament.

Brougham coined a popular slogan - 'the Bill, the whole Bill, and nothing but the Bill.' Russell put the issue to the electorate even

more tersely: 'Reform. Aye or No?' and was repeated from hundreds of platforms. Wellington, fearing the worst, wrote to Mrs Arbuthnot on 19 May, 'I recommend you to provide Means or Substance for yourself in another country. My opinion is that we are on the Eve of a great change....'<sup>14</sup>

The reformers swept home to a great election victory which gave them a majority in the House of some one hundred and forty. The government now determined to push its second Reform Bill through all its parliamentary stages by September. Part of the proposed reform was the enfranchisement of all £10 householders in the towns and all £10 long leaseholders in the counties. These £10 householders were 'small manufacturers, shopkeepers, coal and corn merchants, master tailors, innkeepers, commercial travellers, dealers of all kinds - in a word "tradesmen". To these should be added a growing number of clerks, office workers, school teachers and the lower ranks of the professions.'<sup>15</sup> Such people, unlike the landowners and the gentry, were not necessarily supporters of the Establishment. The bishops feared a House of Commons full of critics and enemies, hence their opposition. Added to this fear was the expectation that if Parliament itself could be so radically reformed, then the Church's turn would surely come next. David Thompson has put the issue succinctly: 'It offered a taste of reform and whetted the appetite for more... it set a precedent for changing even the most antiquated and traditionalist of institutions by legislative action.'<sup>16</sup>

Bishops and clergy knew that the much-needed reforms of Church practice, the ending of abuses such as non-residence and pluralism and the more equitable redistribution of ecclesiastical financial

resources, would have to be a joint effort by Church and State. They feared a Parliament which included radicals, dissenters and Roman Catholics who were more responsive to the popular voice than the old Anglican one had been whose legislators had been educated largely with the clergy at Oxford and Cambridge and who shared common interests.

On 24 June Lord John Russell introduced the bill again; on 8 July it passed its second reading with a majority of 136 and on its final reading on 22 September of 109. It was promptly sent up to the Peers. Earl Grey moved the second reading on Monday 3 October and the debate lasted all week. William Gladstone, an Oxford undergraduate, was present throughout it and although his sympathies lay with the Tories, he noted in his diary 'Lord Brougham's was a speech most wonderful - Lord Grey's most beautiful... The consequences of the vote may be awful - God avert them - but it was an honourable and manly decision.' '7 The bill was at last rejected after an all-night sitting at 6.20 on the Saturday morning. The next few days were full of wild excitement with riots and attacks on the property of known anti-reformers in a number of towns. An estimated 100,000 people attended a protest meeting in Birmingham; 60,000 men marched in procession to St James' Palace on 12 October bearing a petition to the king in favour of retaining the Grey Administration. The young Gladstone took an apocalyptic view of what was happening; he noted in his diary on the 22nd, 'Surely the actual signs of the times are such as should make us ready for the coming of the Lord.' '8

In December Parliament reassembled and the bill was re-introduced in an amended form - the disenfranchisement clauses were less rigorous, the number of MPs remained unchanged but the size of the electorate was



tripled. On 23 March 1832 it was passed by the Commons with a majority of 116 and sent to the Lords. The government suffered another defeat at the Committee stage in May, the Archbishop of York being among the opponents, and on 8 May Grey advised the king either more peers must be created or the Cabinet would resign. The king refused to create more lords and invited Wellington to form a government but this he failed to do. During this crisis there were serious disturbances in York where the Archbishop's palace was attacked and his effigy burnt. On the 15th the king conceded defeat and with the threat of sufficient new peers to guarantee the bill's safe passage through the Lords, the opposition retreated. When the final vote was taken on 4 June 1832, only twenty-two were against and not one of them a bishop. But by now the damage had been done and their earlier opposition was not forgotten. The Church of England had also suffered from the radical press, whose 'infidel and blasphemous publications were everywhere spread abroad' according to the Bishop of Durham.<sup>19</sup>

The Church needed reforming and a veritable flood of pamphlets by churchmen suggesting how it should be done poured from the presses. Some small attempt had been made by Archbishop William Howley when he introduced three modest bills in the Lords in June 1831, only one of which, on augmentation, eventually became law. The most obvious targets for reform were clear to all - Bishop Thomas Burgess of Salisbury (the founder of St David's Lampeter) listed them in his visitation charge in July 1832: 'In the front of the existing defects, I should place the non-residence of Incumbents, occasioned by the poverty of the Benefices of the Church in every Diocese, and by the Consequent occupation of more than one Benefice by the same Incumbent, and the care of more than

one Church by the same Curate.'<sup>20</sup> Far more offensive was the non-residence caused by the pluralism of greed and the injustice of the gross disparity in stipends which provoked caricatures of the 'idle rich' clergy over against the 'working poor' curates and incumbents.

In February 1831 these evils had been given great publicity by John Wade, a Unitarian propagandist, who was a leader writer for the radical Spectator. His Extraordinary Black Book became a best-seller and it fuelled the fires of criticism and attack on the whole of the Establishment. His first and longest chapter exposed the evils of the Church of England in a highly polemical way:

...though the Church of England is ostentatiously styled the "reformed" Church, it is, in truth, the most unreformed of all the churches... It is said, and we believe truly, that the clergymen of the Church of England and Ireland receive, in the year, more money than all the rest of the Christian world put together... It is the inefficiency of the clergy as public teachers, the hurtful influence they have exerted on national affairs, and their inertness in the promotion of measures of general utility, that induce men to begrudge the immense revenue expended on their support, and dispose them to a reform in our ecclesiastical establishment.<sup>21</sup>

One of Wade's stated aims was to 'expose the system of Pluralities, Non-residence, and other abuses in Church discipline'. He based his case on the 1827 Diocesan Returns which were published in 1830.<sup>22</sup> These revealed that out of 10,583 clergymen, only 4,413 resided in the parsonage house or within two miles of the church or chapel; 2,163 were residing on another benefice; 1,389 claimed that the want or unfitness of the parsonage house prevented their residence in the parish. 395 had licenses to be non-resident on the grounds of the 'infirmity of the Incumbent or his family' but some of those with such licenses did not



merit them.<sup>23</sup> He used these published statistics to attack the Church's wealth - 'The Church is a monstrous, overgrown CROESUS in the State, and the amount of its revenues incredible, unbearable, and out of proportion with every other service and class in our society.'<sup>24</sup> He estimated the total revenue of the Church at £9,459,565 and contrasted the predicted average income of £1,228 for 'prelates, dignitaries, and incumbents' with that of the 4,254 curates, 1,631 of whom had salaries 'not exceeding £60' and only 84 of whom had salaries exceeding £160.<sup>25</sup> He concluded:

A reform of the Church, like most other reforms, would permanently benefit the many and only temporarily injure the few...Such odious abuses as non-residence and pluralities would be abolished, and the shameful injustice of one man doing the duty and another receiving the reward would no longer be tolerated. Every district, or parish, requiring the services of an officiating clergyman would be provided with one to whom the degrading epithet of "poor curate" or "poor parson" could never be justly applied. By mitigating the penury of the working clergy their respectability and influence would be augmented, and every neighbourhood would enjoy the advantages which are known to result from the permanent abode of at least one educated, intelligent, and exemplary individual.<sup>26</sup>

There was sufficient truth in what Wade wrote for readers to be persuaded of the truth of it all. Even Tory high churchmen like Bishop Van Mildert had discussed with like-minded people the possibility of setting up a commission of enquiry to suggest 'the best practical remedies for the evils of translations, of unseemly *commendams*, and offensive pluralities.' His cathedral chapter in Durham provided several examples of these evils. But nothing came of this talking. Too little, too late was being considered or attempted. In May 1832, at the height of the political storm over parliamentary reform, Joseph Hume



successfully moved in the Commons that a Return be made giving full details of clerical pluralism in the 'enormously overpaid' Church of England.<sup>27</sup> On 23 June Grey announced a Commission of Enquiry into Ecclesiastical Revenues, but another four years would pass before a reasonably accurate picture of the Church's wealth and its management of the same was made public in the First Report of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners. In the meanwhile the Church's critics had the public ear.

The truth is some improvements were taking place in the various dioceses according to the energy and determination of their respective bishops. This was one prominent line of defence in episcopal charges at that time. Van Mildert claimed in his 1831 charge to the clergy of his diocese that in the first five years of his episcopate twenty-seven new schools, eight parsonages, and twenty-seven churches or chapels had been built or re-built, and seven large parishes had been divided.<sup>28</sup> And he praised the Dean and Chapter for their efforts in augmenting small livings in their patronage. On 27 July 1831 they agreed to augment livings valued at less than £150. Six livings were affected and augmentations of £15, £25, £40, two at £50 and one at £55 were made - 'the above payments to depend on the residence of the Incumbents.'<sup>29</sup> A year later, a further increase was voted - livings with a population of under 500 were to be raised to £200, over 500 and under 1,000 £250, over 1,000 £300. Charles Thorp considered this could be done 'without serious injury to the Chapter Revenue, and without affecting present interests; and the regulations of Chapter destroying Pluralities, and requiring residence render it a measure almost of necessity.'<sup>30</sup> Van Mildert made similar augmentations to other small livings in the

diocese, not all of them in his gift.<sup>31</sup> Maynard's research has shown, however, that prior to this the Dean and Chapter had neglected the livings in their gift and this failure by the Durham capitular establishment to improve the value of their benefices had only served to encourage the practice of holding parishes in plurality.<sup>32</sup> It does seem that what provoked the Durham Chapter into action was the rising tide of public criticism and the likelihood of imminent reform.

They had more cause than any other cathedral chapter to fear what Grey and his fellow reformers might do to their wealth, for there was longstanding hostility between them.<sup>33</sup> Briefly - it began with local reaction to the Peterloo Massacre at a reform meeting in Manchester on 16 August 1819. Peterloo received enormous publicity for reporters from several major provincial and London newspapers were present who in their accounts blamed the authorities and exonerated the crowd.<sup>34</sup> Demonstrations in support of parliamentary reform and critical of the Government for backing the Manchester magistrates (who included two clergymen) took place in other parts of the country, including Durham and Newcastle. Prebendary Henry Phillpotts of Durham arranged a meeting in Sunderland to pass a motion supporting the government but was outmanoeuvred by John Lambton, the MP for the county, and his supporters. Phillpotts then published an eloquent but abusive Letter to the Freeholders of the County of Durham in which he singled out 'Radical Jack' Lambton for particular and personal abuse. He accused him of having spoken rashly and of having given radical reformers ammunition to use against law and order 'playing with the torch of sedition, and wantonly tossing it about amidst the combustible matter which surrounds him.'<sup>35</sup>



On 10 January 1821 Earl Grey, Lambton's father in law, denounced the Tory parsons at a big Liberal meeting in Morpeth, and again Phillpotts took up the cudgels with an abusive Letter to the Rt Hon Earl Grey whom he labelled an enemy of the public peace. 'Quiet in the land! Why your Lordship and your friends are now the prime agitators in these northern parts.'<sup>36</sup> The next stage in this growing enmity was consequent on the death of Queen Caroline in August 1821 when the bells of the cathedral were not tolled in respect for her. John Williams, the editor of a local radical newspaper called the Durham Chronicle started in January 1820 with Lambton's financial backing, wrote a vituperative article on 18 August attacking the local clergy. The Durham clergy reacted corporately by prosecuting him for libelling them and bringing the whole Established Church into contempt. Henry Brougham was brought in to defend the editor and in the process attacked the abuses of the Durham clerical dignitaries. Phillpotts rose to the defence again with A Letter to Henry Brougham MP. What was essentially a local incident was quickly given national publicity. Best comments on the affair:

The trial of a Durham newspaper man for going too far in criticising the local clergy was turned into a trial of the established church for bigotry and corruption, conducted before a huge and fascinated audience through the fashionable media of immensely readable pamphlets and the much read Times and Edinburgh Review. Nothing like this had ever happened before... Nothing could have done the church more harm at this juncture than the position that the Durham clergy seemed to have adopted (as Brougham and the Edinburgh had no difficulty in showing), of shying away from public criticism and scrutiny.<sup>37</sup>

These three incidents illustrate two of the principal means whereby the public's awareness of the need for church reform grew - the



newspaper and the public meeting. Both were used effectively by critics of the Establishment during this period.<sup>38</sup> Maynard claims that the publication of the Durham Chronicle was perhaps the greatest single factor behind the unification of public feeling against the Durham clerics by giving, for example, regular news coverage to those clergy who prosecuted people for refusing to pay tithes.<sup>39</sup>

The last appointment Wellington made on the eve of his resignation in November 1830 brought Durham to the attention of the Whig reformers again. He appointed Henry Phillpotts to the see of Exeter. A more unpopular appointment could hardly have been conceived by the incoming government which now included Brougham as Lord Chancellor, John Lambton as Lord Privy Seal and Grey as Prime Minister. The Durham Chapter had good grounds for fearing that they would be in the front line for radical reform. Grey insisted that Phillpotts resign the lucrative living of Stanhope but he received in its place a Durham stall *in commendam*, to which he was installed by proxy on 5 March 1831. The king's dispensation was read at the chapter meeting on 19 March; it gave Phillpotts leave 'to be absent from the said Cathedral Church, and to dispense with his keeping all or any part of that residence required of him by the Statutes of the said Cathedral Church for the space of three years... notwithstanding such absence... he shall have and enjoy all privileges, profits, emoluments, and advantages belonging to him as a Residentiary of our said Church in full and ample manner, as if he was actually resident there...'<sup>40</sup>

Ten of the twelve prebendaries at Durham were pluralists and their wealth was legendary, derived largely from the chapter's mineral rights and mining royalties. The Durham Chronicle drew attention at this time

to one of them, Wellington's brother - 'The Hon and Rev G.V. Wellesley, Rector of Bishopswearmouth, Rector of St Luke's Chelsea, Vicar of Thelfield, Chaplain of Hampton Court, Chaplain at St James and Prebendary of Durham, is expected to arrive at the Rectory, Bishopswearmouth, from the continent in June, after an absence of fifteen months, during which period he will have received the enormous sum of £4,000 and upwards for the latter Rectory alone!!! How long will this corruption be tolerated? If the Wellesleys, the Phillpotts, the Thurlows and the Merests etc etc were "thoroughly purged" from it, and the immense sums which would thus be saved were given to the meritorious clerical labourers who have to work "during the heat of the day"...the Church would once more lift up her head.'<sup>41</sup> For twelve consecutive years Wellesley was granted leave of absence from his duties at the cathedral.

Later that same summer in a letter to Thorp, the Dean listed the reputed value of some of the stalls - the 9th held by Gilly was the poorest at £2,400, Thorp's was worth £2,500, another £3,000, two more were put at £3,200 and the 'golden stall', held then by Gaisford but shortly to be swapped with Samuel Smith for the Deanery of Christ Church Oxford, was estimated at £4,000. Jenkinson valued the deanery at £8,000 which came in addition to his stipend as Bishop of St David's.<sup>42</sup> The hostility of the Durham coal miners towards these dignitaries who figured in the pages of the Durham Chronicle is readily understandable. The gulf between a cathedral prebendary with his thousands of pounds for doing little or nothing and a miner with his hard-earned fifteen to twenty-five shillings a week was too wide to allow of any common interests or mutual goodwill.

Early in 1831 Van Mildert, in his role as Custos Rotulorum, clashed with Lord Chancellor Brougham. The latter had tried to have the names of six new magistrates inserted on the roll against the Bishop's wishes, and Brougham was forced to a humiliating climbdown.<sup>43</sup> All in all by the summer of 1831, the Durham ecclesiastical establishment had every reason to fear that they were ripe for reform by a government personally hostile to them. The question was how could they redeem the situation? The solution they agreed on was to found a university.

The first recorded reference to this solution is found in a letter which Charles Thorp wrote from Bamburgh Castle on 11 June 1831 to the Bishop, to which Van Mildert replied four days later. Events were to move fast, though at times Van Mildert feared the scheme was stagnating; fifteen weeks later, on 28 September, the chapter formally voted the new institution into being. Two years later, the first students were admitted. The history of the events of those first weeks is told graphically in the Thorp letters, most of which are now in the Durham University archives but some, notably the first one, are in Balliol College library. The story will unfold largely in the lines of those letters, beginning with that of 11 June.

My Lord,

...I would fain bring before you the project of a University to be attached to our College. A slight extension of the establishments and a few Professorships founded by the body in the Cathedral would effect the object. It would give to the Dean and Chapter strength and character and usefulness, - preserving the Revenues to the church and to the north, - and prevent the establishment of a very doubtful Academic institution which is now taking root in Newcastle. I trust you will not think me a projector beyond what the times require.<sup>44</sup>

Thorp's purpose which I have emphasized in the above extract was quite



clear - to save the cathedral revenues. He also indicated what had given him the idea and which lent urgency to the proposal.

On 5 April of that year Thomas Greenhow, a Newcastle surgeon, had read a paper to the Literary and Philosophical Society of Newcastle on the expediency of establishing a university in that town. He sketched a place of higher education where science and technology would equip men for the expanding industries of the north east, and where disciplines such as medicine and modern languages would flourish. In the preamble to his proposal, Greenhow listed some of the reasons why a local boy should not be sent to Oxford or Cambridge, 'It is well known that the ancient universities are open only to the upper and more wealthy classes of the community, and to candidates for the professions of the church and the law - that, in point of fact, they are purely aristocratic institutions - that their gates are closed against many conscientious dissenters from the established church, in consequence of their inability to comply with the prescribed oaths - and that they are equally out of the reach of the middle classes generally and more especially of those who reside at a distance of several hundred miles, in consequence of the great expense necessarily incurred there during the period of study...' <sup>45</sup> James Losh, a prominent local lawyer, and himself a shareholder in the new London University, moved that Greenhow's address should be printed and put on sale to the public, while the Society resolved to hold a further meeting to go into the practicalities of the proposition.

This meeting was held on 7 June at which Greenhow read a supplementary paper Additional Considerations on the Expediency of Establishing in Newcastle an Academical Institution of the nature of a

College or University. He urged 'the first step proper to be taken, then, appears to be, the formation of a joint stock company of shareholders, and with this view it is necessary to have prepared a tangible scheme in the form of a prospectus, developing shortly, but clearly, the principles on which it is proposed to found the institution, and the exact nature and scope of the courses of instruction which it is intended to communicate.'<sup>46</sup> His paper then offered suggestions for just such a prospectus. A year later the prospectus including an architect's drawing of the collegiate buildings was published but by then the university of Durham was already at an advanced stage of planning. What surely prompted Thorp to write his letter to the Bishop on 11 June was a major article which appeared that very same day in the Newcastle Courant headed PROPOSED ACADEMICAL INSTITUTION IN NEWCASTLE. An account of Greenhow's speeches at the two meetings of the Literary and Philosophical Society was given together with the names of the committee members appointed to draw up the prospectus and lay it before the public. The Newcastle Chronicle carried the same news on that day. Thorp would presumably have known about the meetings as he was himself connected with the Society having been appointed a trustee in March 1829 of a large library and collection of museum pieces belonging to the Society.<sup>47</sup> As he read the newspaper accounts, he clearly became convinced that sufficient support could be found in the area to bring about such an academical institution.

From the Thorp papers, it appears that Van Mildert met with him to discuss the proposal and indicated his support. From then on it became 'the bishop's plan'. Thorp then discussed the matter with Prebendary

David Durell the Sub-Dean for he too entered into correspondence with Van Mildert and was the first to write to the Dean far away in St David's about it on 20 July. He set out the case frankly:

It appears to be morally certain that as soon as the Reform Bill is disposed of, an attack will be made on Deans and Chapters, and as certain that Durham will be the first object. It has occurred to us that it will be prudent, if possible, to ward off the blow; and that no lesson is so likely to take, as making the public partakers of our income, by annexing an establishment of enlarged education to our College. Most probably the general opinion would be favourable to the matter. No doubt sacrifices would be required of us. We regard them as a premium to be paid to insure the remainder. We have not gone beyond the first point, that is, the expediency of such a trial.<sup>48</sup>

He asked the Dean to consider the proposal and to communicate with Van Mildert about it.

To the Bishop, Durell wrote on 25 July:

Mr Thorp communicated to me your Lordship's view with regard to the means of meeting the impending attack on our Church. It is probable that our enemies might have respect for the Measure as it accords with the intention of their predilection in spoliation. That considerable sacrifices must be made is unquestionable, and I hope the Dean and Chapter will consider it as a premium paid to secure the remainder. For it cannot, I think, offer to the public any plan more suitable than that suggested by your Lordship. There are some difficulties now in the way which Oliver [Cromwell] had surmounted previously to his design of establishing his College. He had the Deanery and Prebendal houses for the professors and students - we have to annexe the requisite apartments to our present establishment which may not be an easy matter, but a site may be thought of when the measure is more assured. I apprehend the authority of Parliament will be required for that purpose. However, the particulars with regard to the buildings, and all other things connected with such an University may be worked up when the plan is brought forward. I



presume your Lordship's situation is much the same as the Dean and Chapter's - and that we must make it a common cause. I entertain no doubt of the Dean entering into your Lordship's views whenever you are pleased to communicate them to him. I think he must with all consideration, see the danger of our Church, and be disposed to endeavour to ward off the threatened destruction...<sup>49</sup>

On 26 July Van Mildert wrote to Thorp, 'The University matter I could wish soon to be in a producible shape - so as to anticipate not only the mongrel attempt at Newcastle, but any fierce attack upon Church Dignities from the House of Commons, where there is great reason to apprehend a movement as soon as the Reform Bill is disposed of - and it is not at all improbable that your Chapter may be selected for the first onset. Whenever you are prepared with a plan or outline I can answer for it being pressed in high quarters without delay.'<sup>50</sup> The next day he wrote again commenting on Durell's letter which he had received and answered.

Difficulties, no doubt must be encountered, and sacrifices made. Yet, I should hope, no inseparable obstacles may arise. Mr Durell shows the best disposition to effect the object in view; though rather as a peace-offering to the public than for its own sake. I incline to view it in both lights. He very properly supposes that my situation being much the same as the Dean and Chapter's "we must make it a common cause" and I have answered him I shall not hesitate in doing so, as far as I am individually concerned. He suggests also that an Act of Parliament may be wanted for the purpose. Perhaps it may - but I should rather that it were not; since if it once gets into the House of Commons, Messrs Hume and Co will be for cutting up root and branch, instead of lopping off a sufficiency for the suppliers... My chief anxiety at present is to have the matter opened up to Gaisford and to the dean. Simultaneous communication might be made to both of them from you and Mr Durell, and I shall be ready to step in immediately, as soon as you think fit. I cannot add more at present,

being weary and continually interrupted.<sup>51</sup>

Next day Thorp sent his initial draft scheme for the university to the Bishop which was favourably received. (See Vol 2 Appendix 7 A) Van Mildert replied:

I have taken a copy of the enclosed paper, and in so doing, have, of course, deliberated upon it more leisurely than before. As a general outline it seems to me satisfactory. In detail, difficulties and objections may arise which do not immediately present themselves. But I know not that it will be necessary in the first instance, to prepare a fuller document either for Gaisford or the Dean; and if Mr Durell (to whom I think it should be forthwith communicated) starts no serious objection, I should incline to let it go to headquarters without much, if any, revision. Minutiae, at present, are out of the question. I still incline to think that something may be expected, and justly, from the Bishop, in cooperation - though not, perhaps as Mr Durell seems to intend, by making it "a common cause". I have floating thoughts upon that point, which need not now be brought forward. Yet it may not, perhaps be inexpedient, to let it be made known, as soon as the plan is somewhat more matured, that I am not only anxiously desirous of patronising and forwarding it, but am quite ready to receive any suggestions and entertain any befitting propositions for appropriating some portion of the Episcopal Revenue to so laudable a purpose, as well as, aiding it by my own individual contributions to the full extent of my ability. Indeed it would be mortifying to me, not to have a Share in the cost as well as the dignity of such an undertaking. To bind my Successors, however, may be impracticable, without an Act of Parliament.<sup>52</sup>

Van Mildert approved of the scheme for its own sake. He was no Oxbridge protectionist. In his charge to the clergy in 1827 he had praised both Lampeter and more particularly St Bees. Of the latter he said 'It is conducted on sound theological principles and does great credit to the excellent Clergyman to whose management it is confided.

It is, moreover, on a sufficiently large scale, to render it probable that an adequate supply [of clergymen] may be obtained from it for this Diocese.'<sup>53</sup> He also had in his own diocese the example of the Roman Catholics who had been training boys and young men in a seminary at Ushaw since 1808, who went on to the English College in Rome and graduated at the Gregorian University there. He had contributed £500 to the founding of King's College, then under construction in London, and he would have known D'Oyly's Letter to the Rt Hon Robert Peel of 1828. In it D'Oyly had expressed views and sentiments which would be echoed later in the Preface to the early editions of the Durham University Calendar:

It might also be desirable to found an University at some one of the great cities or towns in the northern part of this kingdom. The beneficial effects of such a foundation might be very important. The great and opulent population which has there sprung up, in connexion with the flourishing commercial interests, would thus be accommodated with the means of obtaining a superior education with much greater facility than at present. Students from those parts would be saved the expense and trouble of travelling far towards the south, and probably all the charges of education might be brought within a smaller compass, proportionately to the greater cheapness of living in those parts.<sup>54</sup>

This passage by D'Oyly probably accords with Van Mildert's view too.

At the Bishop's request, Thorp wrote to both the Dean and Gaisford on 29 July. He also informed Archdeacon Prosser who raised no objections. Gaisford's initial reaction was unfavourable. He was against 'a foundation upon the plan of our old Universities, and embracing the full range of studies pursued in them' because he felt it would not be successful. He favoured rather 'a superior school, and a place where



the poorer candidates for orders might acquire instruction suitable to their intended profession, might be very useful and might be appended to our Cathedral without much difficulty.'<sup>55</sup> The Dean replied positively from Abergwill Palace on 6 August promising his 'most cordial support'. Probably reflecting his own experience of having Lampeter in his diocese, he welcomed Van Mildert's involvement and wrote, 'It is exceedingly proper that such an Institution should be under the efficient, not nominal, control of the Bishop.' He said he would be willing to bring the matter to the attention of the whole chapter, including the absentee members, but wanted 'the Bishop of Durham's sanction and authority for that part of the plan which relates to the taking of three of his stalls for the new College and indeed for the whole of the plan.'<sup>56</sup>

On the 6 August Van Mildert at last wrote to the Dean and to Gaisford enclosing copies of Thorp's plan. He reported this action to Thorp on the 10th repeating one significant point he had made to both - 'I contented myself with urging the strong reasons for putting the Chapter in a more favourable position with the public, and one more impregnable to assailants.'<sup>57</sup> He had also suggested to the Dean that he might with advantage open the matter in strict confidence with the Archbishop of Canterbury. From the outset, Van Mildert looked to Thorp for advice and even approval, as here - 'I hope you concur in this. But I do not write to the Archbishop myself, till I hear again from you.' He begged Thorp to travel to Abergwill and 'take Wiltshire in your way, and pass a day with Gaisford to talk over the matter with him.' He was very reluctant to embark on the project without Gaisford's approval and felt more would be achieved and more quickly if Thorp would visit him and the

Dean for a 'conclave'. Van Mildert had a high regard for Gaisford to whom he was related by marriage. He had appointed him to the richest stall in Durham in April 1831 but already by September Gaisford was trying to move back to Oxford. Archbishop Howley wrote to Earl Grey to gain approval for the proposed swap of a stall at Durham for the deanery of Christ Church and mentioned in his letter that Gaisford had two years previously refused the see of Oxford - 'Your Lordship is fully aware of Dr Gaisford's preeminence as a critical Scholar...The only objection I know is a bluntness of manner which may be felt as repulsive by those who do not know him.'<sup>59</sup>

On the 16th Thorp wrote to Gaisford again pressing the need for a 'Northern Collegiate or Academic establishment.' Other places such as York and Liverpool, he claimed, were thinking of it. Cathedral chapters were in danger 'or what is more likely in the first instance, to divert the property to purposes foreign to our worthiest interests, which it will be a duty to resist.'<sup>60</sup> Thorp had also reported Gaisford's criticism to the Dean who replied on the 16th:

In your letter of the 8th you say you are not unwilling to take a lower flight at first than the scheme you sent me proposes - but I am convinced that will never do - neither will the suggestion thrown out by Gaisford "of a school and some professional education effect the object in view." I am persuaded that anything short of what you proposed in the scheme sent in your letter of the 2nd Inst will fail. Timid and half measures will not meet the exigency of such a crisis. If it is pared down or frittered away it will degenerate into a milk and water measure, and instead of averting the meditated blow will rather exasperate than conciliate our enemies, - and expose us to ridicule and contempt. Viewing the matter in this light, I think the future appropriation of three stalls to the purposes of the projected Institution of the utmost importance...<sup>60</sup>

He had no doubts that the scheme would be given a hearty reception by the public. He was delighted to hear the Archbishop had now been informed by Van Mildert - 'It is just what I was wishing he would do without delay.' And he invited Thorp and Gaisford to Abergwill.

Three days later the Dean wrote to Van Mildert urging quick and effective action before their 'enemies' got the better of them:

Considering however the zeal and activity of our enemies it is of great importance that the plan should be matured with as little delay as possible, in order that it may be brought forward in time and in such a manner as to secure the whole credit of the proposal to the Church of Durham, so that it may not appear to be the result of any previous attack. If our enemies should be beforehand with us it will not then be received with the same satisfaction by the public. It will be regarded as a measure extorted from us, and much of the beneficial effect of it will be lost. The Archbishop of Canterbury very properly observes that "the first notion the Government should have of the measure should, if possible, be from the application of the parties for their aid in carrying it into execution, and that from that moment the design should be made generally known."<sup>61</sup>

The Dean feared delay in the progress of their plans as the consent of the cathedral chapter had to be obtained first. Like the Bishop he wanted Thorp and Gaisford to travel to him in Wales:

one or two days of conference at Abergwill might do more than a month's correspondence at so great a distance from each other... For time presses, and I foresee the probability of much delay, the consequences of which may be fatal to the success of the scheme... Something effectual must be done. We are beset with enemies and must not forget that in the neighbourhood of danger repose is perilous.<sup>62</sup>

He agreed with the Bishop that for the time being no one beyond those already in the know should be told of what was being planned.

The Bishop and Thorp now pressed Gaisford for his support. Van



Mildert wrote of the urgent necessity of something like the university scheme 'for saving the Body itself from either total or partial spoliation.'<sup>63</sup> This note of fear of what the enemy might do runs through letter after letter and gives urgency to the plan. Gaisford replying to the Bishop still favoured starting small and suggested Sherburn Hospital as the site of the school/college with the Principal holding the Mastership of Sherburn.<sup>64</sup> A week later he wrote more favourably to Thorp, advising him what the essentials were which needed attention:

...Upon looking again to your last letter. I seem to discover that you entertain a notion that I am unfavourable to the project altogether. This however I can assure you is not the case. My only doubt is whether a commencement is not attempted at the wrong end. But details of plans is an after consideration. The primary thing is to obtain from the Chapter a formal declaration that an Academical institution is desirable - and 2. that the Chapter will set apart from the funds of the Cathedral a sum sufficient to support this institution. These main points settled, the rest may be considered and discussed advantageously. Now if I understand your plan rightly, you propose to defer the main endowment till after the death or cessation of the present holders of stalls. This delay would I think be extremely perilous. Nor do I think it over generous to saddle successors with burdens which we are ourselves unwilling to bear. Do you not think it feasible to get such a vote at the November Chapter as might put the affair in effectual progress... But above all things, if you wish the institution to become really beneficial to the country and to be permanent, let essentials be attended to in the first place, the excrescences may grow up hereafter as opportunity offers. Divinity, ancient languages, mathematics and Natural Philosophy I consider essentials: the numerous tribe of medicinal Sciences with names terminating in ogy I consider non-essentials and excrescences - they are amusing and to a certain degree instructive, but are not wholesome Discipline for the mind - are more suitable to

the dilettanti than the sober student.<sup>68</sup>

During the last week of August the Bishop twice requested Thorp to go and meet with the Dean and Gaisford who had now sent his own plan which Van Mildert felt deserved careful consideration. Thorp had amended his own scheme to include the appointment of Readers to assist the Professors and who would be paid out of the emoluments of the individual Professor's stall but Van Mildert saw difficulties and dangers in this. On the 30th, the Bishop pressed Thorp to allow him to give 'some general intimation of it in my Charge, which might be a very convenient opportunity of notifying the intention, at least, to the public.'<sup>68</sup> No mention was made of it when the charge was delivered but there was an appended note to the published edition announcing the proposed 'Academical Institution.' In the charge, the Bishop called on his clergy to stand firm in the hour of trial but acknowledged the main accusations made against the Church which, he believed, were already being tackled.

The Dean now wrote to Durell, Thorp and Prosser formally about the plan, marking his letter 'Private and Confidential':

I think it probable [sic] that your thoughts may have been already turned to a subject, to which I am now very anxious to draw your attention. I mean the critical situation in which the course of political events seems likely to place the Church of Durham, by increasing the power and influence of those who are known to be hostile to it. Under these circumstances I am deeply impressed with the necessity of adopting some measure which shall extend the utility of our Collegiate body, and give the public an interest in its preservation, and in supporting it under the attacks which there is too much reason to apprehend are meditated against it. I am unable at present to state more than that I intend with the concurrence of the Bishop of Durham and with the approbation of the Archbishop of



Canterbury, to bring before the Chapter for their consideration at the ensuing September Audit a measure relating to an enlarged system of education to be connected with our College...<sup>67</sup>

The matter was to be kept strictly confidential among the members of the chapter. He also wrote separately to Thorp urging him to have his amended plan ready with all details clear. In the following days Thorp produced various revised drafts. His correspondence reveals that he obtained full details of how St Bees Clerical Institution was run by Dr Ainger and what it cost to be a student there.

On 14 September Thorp sent a draft statement to Abergwill Palace which the Dean amended. Jenkinson was critical of some new financial proposals which were not to his liking. The original scheme would have cost the chapter revenues £1,500 p.a. in addition to £300 which they already subscribed to the education fund; the revised figure was £3,450 p.a. of which £2,850 would be new charges on the chapter's finances. The Bishop had also reduced his offer of three stalls to two - one for the Principal and one for the Professor of Divinity. The Dean commented

Also in the plan originally submitted to, and approved by, the Bishop of St David's three Stalls were to be appropriated to the College. It is now proposed to appropriate only two - an alteration, of which the Bishop of St David's is unwilling to say more than that he thinks it very much to be regretted. In establishing such an Institution, it seems to be very desirable, with the view of obviating an objection frequently urged against Collegiate Bodies - that the members of them are useless functionaries - to bring at least three Prebendaries out of twelve into Academic service, and thus render them useful and efficient officers.<sup>68</sup>

The day before the chapter met to make its historic decision, Van Mildert wrote to Thorp to inform him that he had had some conversation about it with two members, the Bishops of Exeter and Bristol, who



seemed 'well inclined to the larger plan.'<sup>69</sup> Five years later when giving evidence to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, Phillpotts was hostile to the university and claimed the chapter only agreed to it out of 'deference and high respect' to Van Mildert. He testified - 'My own notion was, that the wants of that country, of that diocese especially, and of the whole northern part of England, would much better have been satisfied by the establishment of a seminary of theological instruction on the fullest and most comprehensive scale, than by affecting to establish a university of general knowledge in that district. I expressed that opinion as strongly as I could at that time...'<sup>70</sup>

Seven members of the chapter met on 28 September - Mr Gilly the Sub-Dean, Mr Durell, Bishop Sumner of Chester, Mr Ogle, Mr Gisborne, Mr Townsend and Mr Thorp. The Dean's plan (See Vol 2 Appendix 7 B) was read out and then with some minor amendments to it, the chapter voted unanimously to accept it. They also recorded their gratitude to Van Mildert for 'his liberal intentions', authorised the weekly chapter meeting to 'form the details of the Plan' and keep the other members informed, and asked the Dean to communicate with the two Archbishops and the Prime Minister 'either privately or officially' as Jenkinson saw fit.<sup>71</sup>

On 1 October, the Sub-Dean, Durell, Townsend and Thorp met again. They decided to approach the Bishop about the expediency of obtaining a Charter, to take advice on how to carry the plan into effect, and to make application to buy back two former archidiaconal houses on the Green for the proposed college. They also discussed whether the proposal agreed to unanimously three days previously, namely that one fifth of the net proceeds of the deanery and stalls should be charged

upon every first vacancy, as an annual payment to the College Chest, would be applied to them should they be preferred to a higher stall?<sup>72</sup> Here is the first hint of reluctance from the prebendaries to pay Durell's 'premium'! On the 15th, Dr Samuel Smith was installed in Gaisford's place, though the latter continued to take an active interest and Van Mildert consulted him about staff appointments.

Whilst all this secret planning had been going on in Durham during August and September, the more important matter of parliamentary reform and subsequent church reform had been in the public's mind. James Losh, the Newcastle barrister mentioned earlier, was a friend of Lord Brougham's and known to the Durham clergy too. His diary entry for 30 August records his having dined at Durham Castle and conversed at length with Thorp who had provided him with the financial details of the see:

He assured me further that the Bishops and clergy are in earnest in making such reforms themselves as ought to satisfy all reasonable men. That they are providing funds for augmenting small livings (from Dean and Chapter revenues etc) and are seriously determined to destroy as soon as possible, pluralities etc. I advised them to lose no time as "delays are dangerous". Mr Thorp was very anxious to learn what I thought were Lord Brougham's real sentiments as to the Church and begged me to write to him and mention what he had told me.<sup>73</sup> The diary entry for 9 September reads: 'I wrote a long letter to Mr Thorp enclosing a very interesting communication from the Chancellor to me, on the subject of the state of the church, the Reform Bill etc. This is a very important correspondence (or rather negotiation) and may, I hope, be productive of much good. It cannot do harm.'<sup>74</sup>

Losh wrote to Thorp in support of Brougham's opinions, 'I am quite sure that Lord Brougham is right as to the danger to the church should the Bill be rejected by the Lords (a thing which however I think



impossible) - as so far from the deep feeling of the country having subsided, I am persuaded it has become much more intense - and the storm is merely "hushed in firm repose". This I am sure is the case in the four Northern Counties, and I believe all over the Kingdom.' 75 Brougham presented himself as a friend of the Established Church but warned that if the bishops opposed the Reform Bill 'the roar of popular fury will be directed against the Bench and I foresee the very worst consequences.' 76 Thorp duly conveyed Brougham's and Losh's letters to the bishop but without informing him that it was he who had taken the initiative in asking Losh to sound out the Lord Chancellor. Van Mildert replied trenchantly to Thorp:

If Lord Brougham expects me to come forth with a plan of Church Reform, he will be grievously disappointed - and still more so if he supposes that my vote for the Parliamentary Reform Bill can be purchased by fears or menaces of the impending fate of the Church. I never can believe that the Church will be more safe, or last one year longer by supporting that measure, which can answer no purpose but to whet the appetites of the radicals and atheists, and to give them an increase of power which no Government, (certainly not the present) would long be able to resist. Such is my fixed opinion - and my Proxy (if any one will take it) will be used to maintain it. You need not, however, tell this to either Mr Losh or Lord Brougham. 77

This correspondence can only have served to confirm their fears and to have impressed on both Van Mildert and Thorp the urgent necessity of their university project. It appears someone leaked the chapter's decision taken on the 28th to the Prime Minister, and Van Mildert wrote anxiously to the Archbishop of Canterbury on 2 October begging him to communicate with Earl Grey at once, fearing it might be construed as 'a want of due respect to his official status.' This Howley did. Van Mildert wrote next day:



My Lord,

I feel it incumbent upon me to acquaint your Lordship, and I do it with great satisfaction, that the Dean and Chapter of Durham have come to a determination to establish an Academical Institution at Durham, in immediate connection with the Chapter, and under their government and direction. The plan, though not yet fully drawn out, is intended to afford the Public, and more particularly to the Northern Counties, the advantages of an University Education; having a Principal, Professors, Tutors &c with Endowments for a certain number of Students, and such other provisions as may assimilate it to the Colleges of Oxford and Cambridge, and to that of Christ Church in particular, which is, in like manner, connected with that Cathedral. It were premature at present, to trouble your Lordship with further particulars; nor should I think it necessary to make this early communication, but that there is reason to apprehend the design may already have transpired; and it might seem disrespectful to Your Lordship, as Head of His Majesty's Government, and having also so great a local interest in a design of this nature, that the first intimation of it should come through any unauthorized channel of intelligence... To so noble and public-spirited a design on the part of this distinguished Body, I am prepared to give every support and encouragement in my power. This I have already signified to the Chapter, and also my inclination to make a certain portion of the patronage of this See available to the purposes of the Institution. I feel persuaded that Your Lordship will concur with me in opinion that nothing could reflect more credit upon the Chapter and upon the Dean especially, than such an undertaking. The want of an Academical Institution of this kind in the North of England, has, I believe, long been considered a desideratum; and although it must necessarily proceed by degrees to a perfect state, I have no doubt that means and resources will eventually be found to carry it into effect, to any extent to which it can advantageously be applied...<sup>78</sup>

Grey replied to the Archbishop on the 4th and to Van Mildert on the 6th in the most approving terms:

I can assure your Lordship with the greatest truth that it has seldom

been my good fortune to receive a communication which gave me such unqualified pleasure. I have long been anxious for the establishment of an university for the north of England and in the Ecclesiastical establishment at Durham there seemed to exist the means of effecting this important object in a way that would be equally beneficial to the interests of the community and to those of the Church itself; but in any plan of this kind I should certainly have thought it necessary to consider all vested right, as land [?] and intangible. It appeared to me also of the first importance that the location for the accomplishment of this object should originate with the Church itself and the manner in which it has now been put forward by the Dean and Chapter with your Lordship's approbation and assistance, reflect upon them the highest credit.

When the plan shall be sufficiently matured to admit of its being communicated with the details necessary for its execution, I shall be happy to receive such information as your Lordship or the Dean and Chapter may think it expedient to honour me with, and I beg your Lordship to be assured that in whatever situation I may be placed, I shall be anxious to afford every assistance in my power to so useful and praiseworthy an undertaking.<sup>79</sup>

Van Mildert could hardly have expected such a generous expression of support from a reformer regarded as hostile to the Durham establishment. On the day the Bishop received this encouraging letter from Downing Street, his vote was cast by proxy against Earl Grey in the House of Lords. The plans for the university were laid in the nick of time, it must have seemed to the chapter in Durham, for now the flood of abuse broke against the bishops and clergy with threats of violence raging. James Losh noted in his diary having attended a public meeting in Durham on 31 October - 'not less than 7,000 or 8,000 and respectable from the dress and conduct of the people attending...I think the speakers attacked the Church and the Bishops rather too



coarsely, not perhaps more severely than they deserve.'<sup>80</sup>

Letters of appreciation and support for the proposed university were sent to Van Mildert by the Duke of Northumberland on the 6th and by the Archbishop of York four days later. To the Bishop's great satisfaction, the chapter at their meeting on Sunday 20 November chaired by the Dean, accepted his advice to be more generous in their support. The Chapter Minute reads: 'It is ordered that his Lordship's handsome proposals in favour of the University, being the appropriation of £1,000 outfit, of £1,000 p.a., and the use of the house near the Castle during his Lordship's Incumbency be gratefully accepted, and the Chapter are desirous of expressing the sense they entertain of his Lordship's Liberality, and of the facility it affords in carrying the proposed plan into effect, and wish it to be communicated to his Lordship, that it is in the contemplation of the Dean and Chapter, further to provide for the expenses of the University by the Enfranchisement of property to the amount of £80,000 equal to £3,000 a year, and, in the event of this plan being realized, in accordance with his Lordship's wishes, to abandon the prospective tax upon the Stalls.'<sup>81</sup>

On 1 December Thorp circulated a sketch of the university which he had had printed. (See Vol 2 Appendix 7 C) The Bishop offered numerous criticisms on points of detail and sent him a copy of the Arrangements of King's College, London and a copy of Greenhow's pamphlet on the proposed college or university at Newcastle. He also wrote to Earl Grey apprising him of the chapter's plans to make

an immediate provision for their proposed Academical Institution upon a more ample scale than had at first been contemplated; with a view of precluding the necessity of forming any prospective measure of a different kind, for its future support... I have offered to annex



three Prebendal stalls to offices in the new College, or University - one to the Warden or Principal; - another to the Divinity Professor; another to the Greek Professor; - and the patronage of each Stall to remain with the Bishop, who in that case, will have to limit his range of choice to persons specially qualified for those respective appointments... and until Vacancies occur in those particular Stalls, it will be necessary to assign sufficient Stipends to the respective offices.<sup>82</sup>

The Prime Minister replied expressing regret that Van Mildert seemed to have such an objection to prospective measures. 'Such Measures though involving some change in the Capitular Body, might as I conceive have been so constructed as to diminish in no degree the influence and authority of the Church; but on the contrary greatly to promote them...'<sup>83</sup> Despite these reassurances the Bishop was adamant he wanted no changes made in the constitution of the chapter - 'he will find me immovable on this point', he wrote to Thorp.

At a chapter meeting on 10 December, the Dean informed the members that the Bishop had appointed Charles Thorp as the Warden of the college provisionally. On the same day Thorp was also installed into the Archdeaconry of Durham vacant by the resignation of Dr Prosser.<sup>84</sup> The living of Easington, valued at £1,424, was attached to the post of Archdeacon which he could have held in plurality with his own living of Ryton, worth £1,137 to him, but he wisely chose to resign it at once.<sup>85</sup> He chose to retain his living of Ryton, which in 1832 had a population of over 6,500, together with his posts of Archdeacon, Warden of the university and a residentiary of the cathedral! From 1829-1838 he was licensed by the Bishop to be non-resident from his parish for reasons of health! Thorp too was guilty of the abuses which Wade had exposed in

his Extraordinary Black Book.

On 12 December Thorp was authorized to communicate with a Newcastle barrister, Mr Walters, respecting the proposed Bill for the Enfranchisement of property at South Shields, for the endowment of the University of Durham. Chapter was informed that the Rector of Stanhope, the Rev H.N. Darnell (who had been persuaded to swap his stall in January 1831 with Phillpotts) had subscribed £200 to the university. A generous sum but one he could well afford as his living was valued in 1832 at £4,685 thanks largely to the lead ore tithes which in 1829 had been commuted based on production.<sup>86</sup> On 17 December letters were received from four would-be members of staff soliciting appointment.

As the year closed, Van Mildert was at his London home on Hanover Square, encouraging support for the university among other peers who would eventually debate and vote on the Durham University Bill. He feared what Parliament might do. In a letter to Thorp marked 'Private' which he ordered should be burned, he revealed his feelings about Grey: 'I shrink from communicating with him, with a sort of instinctive apprehension of some collision of sentiment upon every matter of this kind or of being ensnared, in some way or other, to the defeat of my own purposes.'<sup>87</sup> In the same letter, he also expressed hesitation about some proffered help from friends of the Sub-Dean, 'a party whose zeal perpetually outruns their discretion.' He rejected the idea of instituting an office like that of the Christian Advocate at Cambridge and could see no other scheme of comparable benefit to the public than the university. It seems that doubts were still being voiced about the scope of the scheme, and this is reflected in a letter to Thorp dated 14 January 1832:

Respecting our being constituted a University with the power of conferring Degrees and Faculties, I am inclined to think with the Archbishop not only that nothing short of this will satisfy the existing expectation of the Public, and of the Northern Counties especially, but that some of our main objects may fail without them. If, after going through four years of education with us, (and, as we hope and trust, as efficient an education as at either of our present Universities) the Students be entitled to no Degree conferring Academical or Ecclesiastical Privileges, there may be a reluctance on the part of the Northern Gentry to send their sons to us. In case of those who are intended for the Clerical order, it may be said in what respect will our students have any advantage beyond those of St Bees, or any other Institution? since they can only apply for Ordination as Literates, and however, as such, fit and respectable, yet of a grade inferior to Academics. This will not only be mortifying to the individuals but somewhat degrading to our College, and it may well be asked, Why endow your chief College Officers with Prebendal Dignities and splendid remunerations, for such minor purposes? It does therefore really appear to me, that we shall not do justice to ourselves, nor to the public if we stop short of this purpose.<sup>ee</sup>

The early months of 1832 were taken up in getting the Durham University Bill through Parliament. Van Mildert wrote to Thorp in February naming his likely allies and stating his tactics. He wanted to have Thorp in London to form a kind of 'Standing Committee' with the Dean to advise him. 'From the present Ministers in the House of Commons, I should expect little more than acquiescence or cold approval. But that may be enough for our purpose, if we have sufficient strength in other quarters, to keep the radicals at a respectful distance.'<sup>ee</sup>

At a meeting of Dissenters in Newcastle chaired by James Losh, it was agreed to petition the House of Commons to allow people of any



denomination to have all the privileges of the university without any religious test. Similar petitions came in from other places, and Lambton, now the Earl of Durham, pressed the point during the debate on the Second Reading and again later at the committee stage. Van Mildert described this to Thorp:

Finally Lord Durham reverted to the grand question of opening the Honours and privileges of the University, (not its emoluments) to persons of all religious persuasions and identified his views with those of the Newcastle Petitioners. A little smart sparring took place - and the matter was left in statu quo - it being understood that Lord Durham's friends were to be acquainted that the system of Cambridge University would be adopted in that respect - and the committee broke up in pretty good humour. I sat next to Lord Durham and had no cause to complain of any unfairness or incivility.<sup>90</sup>

Similar objections were raised in the Commons but the argument that the university was being funded exclusively from Church money prevailed and so the arrangements should be on the Church's terms.<sup>91</sup> The Bill received the Royal Assent on 4 July 1832. It was entitled 'An Act to enable the Dean and Chapter of Durham to appropriate part of the property of their church for the establishment of a university in connection therewith'; the government of the university was vested in the Dean and Chapter with the Bishop as Visitor. Whilst this local matter was being dealt with, the country lived through the political crisis of May.

In a charge to the clergy of his archdeaconry given that summer, Thorp gave further publicity to the planned institution and indicated that they were looking to it to offer professional training to ordinands. 'The establishment of the Durham University, made at great personal sacrifices on the part of the Bishop and the Dean and Chapter,

will have a happy effect in furnishing sound instruction for our children; in securing the residence and the service of men eminent in all the walks of literature, and capable of directing human learning to the highest purposes; in strengthening the ties between ourselves and the laity; and providing the means of a liberal clerical education, combining general learning with professional pursuits. The class of divinity students will have advantages equal to those enjoyed at either of our famous Universities: and will, we trust, furnish to the northern dioceses a perpetual supply of men duly qualified to serve in the ministry of the Church.<sup>92</sup>

Van Mildert had his Bill; the university could now go ahead. The Chapter Minutes for 1832 show that in February the members were planning to elect the officers of the university at their July meeting and admit the first students at Michaelmas. This did not happen and so at their November meeting they resolved to elect in July 1833 and open in the following October. Van Mildert was asked to notify his appointments to the chapter.<sup>93</sup> The Bishop wrote to Thorp from London on 8 January 1833:

The Whigs, I hope, will soon have it not in their power to say the Durham University is extinct. I will endeavour soon to come to a determination as to the appointments dependent upon me. In the meanwhile, any appointments actually made by the Chapter will be good evidence that the cause is alive and in motion.<sup>94</sup>

The Bishop's intention was to annex the 11th, 1st and 3rd stalls to the offices of Warden, Professor of Divinity and Professor of Greek respectively and introduced a Second Durham University Bill to this end. He withdrew it, however, when the Prime Minister refused to give him the assurance he wanted that the Crown would waive its prerogatives

in the case of the annexed stalls. The potential danger that Van Mildert was trying to guard against was in the event of one of his three officers being preferred by the Crown to some dignity such as a bishopric and the Crown consequently having the right to nominate to the vacant stall, some dangerous liberal such as Dr Arnold might be appointed! In May 1834 when he withdrew his Bill, he increased his annual subscription to the university to £2,000, and as the two stalls were not vacant for the professors, they each received a stipend of £500 p.a. plus fees. The matter of the stalls was not settled before his death and rumbled on for years.

In one of his early revisions of the draft scheme, Thorp had noted in September 1831 the names of some possible staff - Keble, Shepherd or Ogilvie as Principal; Davison was his first choice for Divinity, and Gaisford for Greek. None of these was appointed. After much deliberation H.J. Rose accepted Van Mildert's invitation to come north. The Bishop mentioned him to Thorp on 17 May but it was not until the autumn that Rose agreed, and only then after encouragement from the Archbishop of Canterbury and from Joshua Watson. Various other scholars had been considered, among them J.J. Blunt who declined Van Mildert's invitation, C.A. Ogilvie and E.P. Gresswell whom Gaisford favoured for the post. On Gaisford's recommendation, his brother-in-law Henry Jenkyns, a Fellow of Oriel, was appointed Professor of Greek. Jenkyns was well-connected - his brother was Master of Balliol and his future father-in-law was Henry Hobhouse who was to be an influential member of the Ecclesiastical Commission. He was also well qualified academically; he had taken a double First at Christ Church in 1816 and had published scholarly papers. The Chapter Minutes of 26 October 1833 record that



permission was given for Mr Rose to occupy the Bishop of Exeter's prebendal house. Two other important appointments were the Rev Temple Chevallier, Fellow of Pembroke College Cambridge, as Professor of Mathematics (the original appointee having died on the second day of the first term), and the Rev T.W. Peile, Fellow of Trinity College Cambridge and Headmaster of Liverpool Collegiate School, as Senior Fellow, Senior Tutor and Censor. Peile was a former St Bees pupil (1818-21) and so had witnessed the early years of the Clerical Institution across the road from his school.

If the new university and its degrees were to have academic credibility, it was essential that the credentials of the first officers were impeccable. This is reflected in a brief statement in the Durham University Calendar of 1837 commenting on the first examinations for the degree of BA which had been held in June 1836 - 'Two of the four Examiners, by whom it was conducted, had lately been discharging the same office in Oxford and by their assistance the same standard of attainments was fixed for a certificate, which is observed on the like occasion in that University, The classification of those who obtained honours was also formed on similar principles.'<sup>98</sup>

The first candidates for admission were examined on 28 October 1833; nineteen 'Scholars' and eighteen 'students' were admitted. The Dean and Chapter may well have felt that theirs was a timely achievement as the Irish Temporalities Bill became law that summer. If sees could be merged and revenues re-directed in the United Church of England and Ireland, it would not be long before Durham was similarly manhandled. The new institution was given a warm welcome in the pages of the Durham Advertiser on 23 October -

The want of such an institution in the northern parts had been long felt... The establishment of a university at York was suggested by some, while others contended that Newcastle was a preferable situation, and had not the Dean and Chapter so liberally come forward to found one in this city, in all probability one of those places would have enjoyed the advantages which are now secured to Durham. But with a liberality unprecedented in modern times the Dean and Chapter have voluntarily given up property amounting to £94,000 to found the University, to the support of which the Bishop of Durham subscribes £1,000 per annum - His Lordship having already made two donations of £1,000, each towards the building fund, besides giving a dwelling house which he purchased for one of the professors. Such examples of liberality ought to silence the cavils of the envious and convince the world that if the See of Durham enjoys magnificent possessions there is a generous spirit in those who are in trust to dispense the property most munificently, and to devote it to the advancement of religion and sound learning - the two objects to which the personal efforts and the pecuniary contributions of the clergy ought to be especially directed.

Rose appears to have had a heavy lecturing load and not to have had the independence of action he wanted from the Warden. He complained to Joshua Watson - 'They overwork me here, for while my brother professor has two lectures a week, I have seven days lectures, and the evening lecture is a very distressing and weary one.'<sup>96</sup> His brother, Henry John Rose a Fellow of St John's College Cambridge, was allowed to do some lecturing for him; he urged Thorp unsuccessfully to appoint a second professor. In the opening term he delivered one public lecture An Apology for the Study of Divinity and a second one in the Epiphany term The Study of Church History Recommended, both of them subsequently printed. The Sunday evening lecture was intended for the whole student body; in the 1833-34 session they were on the Gospel according to St

Matthew. He complained at length in a letter to Van Mildert on 2 July 1834 and Thorp felt it necessary to defend himself and his management of the university in letters to the Bishop dated 5 July and 18 August. Rose had been appointed a Domestic Chaplain to Archbishop Howley in February 1834 and he left Durham ostensibly on the grounds of his new duties and of ill-health though his letters suggest Durham suited his health better than the south did. His correspondence with the Dean and Chapter in the summer of 1834 reveal his real reasons. In a letter dated 16 July he made clear he could give no unconditional acceptance of the offer of the chair of divinity until the position concerning the endowment was clarified. He feared that a future bishop might not continue to subsidise the university and that he might find himself 'with age coming on, with no other provision than the fees, and with most laborious anxious duties.'<sup>97</sup> Smith informed him that 'the Trustees of the University will guarantee to the professor of Divinity an annual payment of £600 from the funds of the University besides the fees accruing from the Divinity Students.'<sup>98</sup> He also objected to two of the Statutes proposed for the university, namely that he would have to give a weekly lecture to the ordinary students and secondly that he must give any course of lectures required by the Dean and Chapter.<sup>99</sup> He also wished to reside only six months of the year in Durham instead of the necessary eight and that there should be a second professor. Dr Smith informed Van Mildert that the prevailing opinion in the chapter was in favour of one professor of Divinity resident during the whole of every term.<sup>100</sup> Smith as Sub-Dean informed Rose of the chapter's decision who resigned complaining to Van Mildert that he had been 'compelled' to leave Durham. The Bishop feared bad publicity from this affair but



Smith wrote sensibly to him 'I am sorry for anything that is to add to your anxiety but I cannot upon any other account regret Mr Rose's resignation. I think that he has shown such a temper as would in all probability be very detrimental to the interests of our young university, and however great his industry and talents may be they can be no compensation for a restless Disposition which would involve us in endless disputes.'<sup>101</sup> And he then recommended Jenkyns as a suitable successor.

One important contribution Rose made during the months he was at Durham was to draw up the regulations for the Divinity class. (See Vol 2 Appendix 7 D). Thorp referred to these in a letter to the Bishop on 5 December 1833 asking him to ascertain from the other bishops 'whether the degree with Testimonials will be regarded by the Archbishops and Bishops as the Degrees and Testimonials of Oxford and Cambridge are regarded with reference to Holy Orders.'<sup>102</sup> The divinity students were promised 'a sound theological education' which would equip them 'whether they are to exercise their ministry in this country, in the Colonies, or foreign Missions.'<sup>103</sup>

At this stage Rose was still enthusiastic about Durham's potential. He wrote to Joshua Watson, 'Might not Durham be made a grand Theological School, where, even after the Universities, they who could afford it might go for a year or two?'<sup>104</sup> His hope was to attract Oxbridge graduates for his plan took account of three acknowledged weaknesses at the ancient universities - the Durham divinity curriculum offered something recognizable as a professional education, students would be examined on the lectures they had attended, and testimonials of moral character would be genuinely deserved. Dr Whewell of Trinity

College Cambridge who some years later was instrumental in getting the bishops to require Cambridge ordinands to have passed the 'Voluntary Theological Examination' wrote encouragingly to Rose on 7 January 1834, 'I am glad to hear a good account of your university - for such on the whole I hold yours and Whitley's to be. [Whitley was Reader in Natural Philosophy and Mathematics] I dare say we shall be able to learn some things of you...' <sup>105</sup>

Van Mildert took the matter up with Archbishop Howley who in turn consulted with York and London and replied on 7 January 1834 indicating that all three would accept Durham graduates on the same terms as those of Oxford and Cambridge, but only York, where St Bees students on the recommendation of Dr Ainger after two years residence were accepted, would take the Durham men who had simply done the two year divinity course. <sup>106</sup>

A month later Van Mildert wrote to all the bishops enclosing a copy of Rose's paper and informing them of the decisions already made by the two Archbishops and by the Bishop of London - 'It is evident that the essential and permanent benefits to be expected from our new University cannot effectually be secured but by the acceptance of its Degrees and Testimonials on the same footing with those of Oxford and Cambridge, with reference especially to Candidates for Holy Orders. The Dean and Chapter are therefore desirous of ascertaining from the various Bishops of our Church their intentions in this respect; that they may be enabled to hold out to those who are applying for admission into their University some satisfactory assurance on a point of such fundamental importance.' <sup>107</sup>

All the bishops replied within a fortnight, generally in the

affirmative as regards Durham Arts graduates. Only two, Sumner of Chester and Law of Bath and Wells (the founder of St Bees) welcomed the two year Divinity Class men. Law viewed the Durham establishment as being on a par with St Bees; Van Mildert commented to Thorp, 'The Bishop of Bath and Wells seems to intend a high compliment either to us or to himself, by raising our Institution to the dignity of St Bees!'<sup>108</sup>

The most encouraging reply came from Edward Maltby, the Whig Bishop of Chichester, who was soon to succeed Van Mildert at Durham:

I am moreover persuaded that in accepting as Candidates for Orders, those, who shall graduate in Arts at Durham, I have a chance of securing a better stock of really professional knowledge, than is at present supplied by our Universities to Students in Divinity.

As I almost began my professional career as an Examining Chaplain forty years ago, this is a subject which has occupied a good deal of my attention. And I have long thought it desirable, not only that some specific time should be set apart, and some course of study pointed out, at the Universities for the acquirement of Sacred Knowledge; but that the Bishops also should lay down a set of rules, and prescribe a certain quantity of attainment, without which none should be admitted into Holy Orders.<sup>109</sup>

Bishop Phillpotts of Exeter, despite being a member of the Durham chapter, was only willing to take Oxbridge graduates with a Durham divinity certificate. This was at least consistent with his declared policy when he went to Exeter in 1831: 'I wish to discourage the increasing practice of strangers coming hither. So many of the clergy of this diocese, and others, breed sons to the Church, that I do not like that their prospects be unnecessarily interfered with by strangers.'<sup>110</sup> Hereford and Rochester also declined to take Durham men, the former wanting more information, the latter saying he felt 'the market is already overstocked.' If he accepted ordinands from Durham,



then he would feel obliged to take them from Dublin, and St Bees and even from the University of London! Van Mildert sought to persuade him but in vain.

In his charge of 1834 Archdeacon Thorp offered the clergy a kind of end of year report on the university's first year:

Students of the Academical course are assembled in considerable numbers, from various parts of the kingdom, and several are preparing for Holy Orders, under the Divinity professor. Three of the latter are B.A.s of the two ancient Universities. Sufficient temporary accommodations have been provided by the Dean and Chapter, and a good foundation has been laid for Schools, Libraries, Museums, and the other necessary appendages of a place of study. The plan of reading, and the rewards of exertion, will ensure good literary attainments, and call into action the powers of the mind. We have higher objects. We value mental exertion and human learning, but we look beyond them. We hope by a careful moral superintendence to work upon the heart, and to send forth into the Church and into society, a body of well-principled, instructed, well-disciplined, religious men to be the salt of the sphere, be it high or be it low, in which they move.'''

Whilst there can be no doubt that Van Mildert's intention was to found a university, and one modelled on Oxbridge, rather than a theological college, some of those who lectured there in the early years were not sure that he had succeeded. In a letter to Archbishop Howley in his capacity as Chairman of the Ecclesiastical Commission, dated 17 February 1835, Thorp voiced this fear, 'In truth the University, which is now of great promise, and will soon, under favourable circumstances and kind treatment, become of national concern, must sink to the level of a school or theological seminary, if deprived of the wealth of Chapter, if it be left in its present state of poverty and dependence; and we feel that the permanence of this

institution, upon which so much of care and property has been already bestowed, rests mainly upon the measures which may now be taken under the advice of the Church Commission.'''<sup>2</sup> A year later, Henry Jenkyns, who though exercising the functions of Divinity Professor was still technically Professor of Greek, wrote to the Warden about those members of chapter who wanted to turn the university into a 'mere Theological seminary.'''<sup>3</sup> He probably had in mind Dr Gilly. This prebendary when he gave evidence to the Ecclesiastical Commission in 1835 clearly appreciated and favoured the Divinity department. In answer to the question 'Do you think that the funds now applied to the maintenance of the university could be more beneficially applied to the establishment of a theological institution instead of a university?' he replied 'I am of opinion that for the present it would be the best arrangement, because I find that the public are looking with a very favourable eye to it as a school of divinity.'''<sup>4</sup>

The Warden wrote to the Archbishop refuting the opinions expressed by Dr Gilly and the Bishop of Exeter and stating his own vision of the institution:

As to the proposal of a Theological School, I trust your Grace and the Ecclesiastical Commissioners will reject it. It is not consonant with the spirit of the Statutes which contemplate, under the Dean and Chapter, the instruction of youth in virtue and good literature, but do not contemplate an exclusively professional education: - it contradicts the terms of the engagement upon the faith of which the University of Durham was established; and it proceeds upon the vicious principle than which none is more noxious to the Church and to Society, that the Clergy, in their early habits, studies and pursuits, are to be separated from the mass of the community with whom they are to live. Whether a University was wanted in the North of England is a matter of opinion upon which honest and considerate

men may not be agreed... For my own part, I have always thought that a place of general education upon the largest and most liberal scale was required, and that Durham was the Spot in which it should be fixed, situated as it is in the midst of a rich and populous district...'15

Divinity nonetheless came to dominate thanks largely to Henry Jenkyns, and at the 1861 Enquiry into the university, Temple Chevallier the Professor of Mathematics testified that it was practically 'a university for divinity.' '16

Van Mildert was initially reluctant to offer the chair of divinity to Jenkyns although he was asked to do the work aided by Chevallier who himself had hopes of being appointed. When the Bishop did formally invite him on 28 September 1835 to take the post, Jenkyns was far from keen to accept. His reasons were not dissimilar to Rose's. He saw it as a more onerous office, he knew of the disputes about the duties, and he feared that his succession to a prebendal stall might be retarded if he accepted. However, he did accept on 5 October but he had to wait four more years for Bishop Maltby to collate him to the 3rd stall which had fallen vacant, soon after which he was officially promoted Professor of Divinity. The range of his theological lectures may be judged from the list of subjects examined for the License in Theology, details of which were published in the Durham University Calendar. The 1837 edition lists them as being 'Ecclesiastical History of the first three centuries and of the Reformation, the Gospel of John, the Epistle to the Corinthians, Criticism of the N.T., the Church Catechism and English Composition.' '17 Students who resided for two years were examined in the 'XXXIX Articles, Acts of the Apostles, Epistle to the Romans, Interpretation of the N.T., and the History of Liturgies.' '18



In addition to his daily lectures, Jenkyns also lectured to the whole university on Sunday evenings during the Michaelmas and Epiphany terms. The 1837 Calendar lists the subjects of these courses as having been: '1833-34 The Gospel of Matthew; 1834-35 Part of the History of the Pentateuch; 1835-36 The Liturgy of the Church of England; 1836-37 The Church Catechism; 1836-37 The Communion Service; and in 1838-39 it would be the Occasional Offices.'<sup>119</sup> Students were required to make notes of these Sunday lectures and hand them in weekly to a tutor. All students were also required by the University Regulations 'to be present at Chapel Prayers, or at Cathedral Services, at the times appointed.'<sup>120</sup>

What Jenkyns attempted was the systematic preparation of men for Holy Orders, something not then available at Oxford or Cambridge. As had been hoped, he attracted a number of Oxbridge graduates to Durham for the one year course, among them Walsham How, later Bishop of Wakefield. His successor, Dr Farrar, wrote of his 'reputation for learning and power of teaching then unequalled in England, and worthy to be compared to the great Professors of Germany.'<sup>121</sup>

One of his students during the years 1842-43, J. Low Low recalled: He taught his scholars to take nothing for granted, but to make sure of everything from good authority. They had not only the opportunity of acquiring much knowledge, set before them in the clearest manner, but were inflamed by the desire of acquiring more...Every student had to write a sermon every week, an excellent training for those who were soon to be called upon to provide, perhaps, more than one weekly.<sup>122</sup>

He was, however, described less warmly by one of his fellow prebendaries, Dr Townsend, as 'cold as ice, clear as ice, and hard as

ice.'<sup>123</sup> And Temple Chevallier when he informed his friend Dr Corrie at Cambridge with the news of Jenkyns appointment described him as 'an able man but wants unction, and has never had charge of a parish.'<sup>124</sup> This last comment reflects Chevallier's own view that the Divinity course should be a professional training for the ministry rather than a purely academic exercise. He accepted the perpetual curacy of Esh just outside Durham in 1835 which he held until his death 'for after having been so long engaged in a parish, I do not mean to secularize myself so completely.'<sup>125</sup> He accepted the post of Professor of Mathematics in July 1835 and a Readership in Hebrew when he realized the Divinity post was likely to go to Jenkyns.

Their students fell into four categories - those who were pursuing the three year course leading to the degree of BA, those who had graduated in Arts at Durham and were continuing with the two year course for the Licence in Theology, Oxbridge graduates (and from 1841 graduates of Trinity College Dublin too) who did one year for the L.Th, and those 'Literates' who simply did the two year divinity course. This last group who were aged between 21 and 26 were required to pass a preliminary examination in 'the Elements of Theology, the Greek and Latin Languages, and the Elements of Mathematics' to prove their competence 'to enter with advantage on the appointed line of reading.'<sup>126</sup> There were also 'occasional students' who were permitted to attend a particular course of lectures.

Students were required to live in college accommodation under the watchful eye of censors and tutors. Some property had been bought for the university by the Dean and Chapter, and Van Mildert bought and gave three houses for staff use. On the recommendation of the Ecclesiastical



Commission and by order of the Privy Council, Durham Castle was transferred from the Bishop to the university for its use in 1837. The 1841 Calendar comments on this, 'This acquisition has provided the College with an excellent Chapel and Hall, besides affording a number of convenient rooms for the reception of Students and for general academical purposes.'<sup>127</sup>

In the earliest stage of planning, Van Mildert had advised the chapter through Thorp to take plenty of time over drawing up a constitution - 'Much should be left open, at first for further deliberation; some few essential Principles of the Institution being laid down as the basis to work upon and even if operations were to be begun before the several details were finally agreed upon, I do not see what inconvenience is likely to arise.'<sup>128</sup> His advice was heeded. As already noted, Rose lectured for a term before he submitted his draft plan for the Divinity department. It was in the second term that the Warden was asked by the chapter to draw up 'a form of Statutes for the University of Durham' to be considered by chapter a month later.<sup>129</sup> An Act of Chapter on 4 April 1834 formally constituted the establishment of a university. the Statutes constituting a Senate made up of the chief officers of the university and a Convocation where the Warden could veto any proposal were finally sealed by the Bishop and Dean and Chapter on 20 July 1835, and on this basis a Royal Charter was applied for. The 'Regulations of the University at Durham' as agreed by Senate and Convocation were passed on 4 March 1836. The Royal Charter was granted on 1 June 1837 under whose sanction the first degrees were conferred a week later.

The constitution was flawed with too much power in the hands of the



Warden. The Rev David Melville was a tutor from 1843-46 and the first Principal of Hatfield Hall, a residential hall for poorer students, from 1846-51. In his evidence to the Commission of Enquiry in 1862, he was severely critical of the way in which Thorp had dictated what happened in the university. 'During the whole of my experience there, I should say the Dean and Chapter were simply managed, the Convocation was simply dictated to, and the Senate simply checkmated: that is the constitution of the University of Durham.' 130

The Durham Commission Report of 1863 gave some indication of the cost at Durham. 'There are two systems of domestic economy in operation at the present time in the University. At University College, the model of Oxford and Cambridge is followed. At the Halls, where the cost of living is less, the rooms are let furnished to the students, the meals are all shared in common, and a fixed weekly payment is made, which covers all domestic charges. The difference of cost is considerable. At the College the charges for education and living during the twenty-four weeks, of which the academical year consists, are stated to vary from £100 to £140. At the Halls the charge during the same time is said to range from £60 to £75.' 131

Van Mildert did not live to see all these developments for he died on 21 February 1836. Right to the end of his life, he was still working to ensure the financial security of his foundation. He wrote his last letter to his great friend Joshua Watson on 28 January 1836 in which he reported, 'I have written somewhat largely to the Archbishop on our Durham University concerns, and the arrangement of our prebendal stalls, which, I much fear, will not go on so smoothly as when Sir Robert Peel was an Ecclesiastical Commissioner. I have stirred up the

Archbishop to do what he can for us; and, knowing his goodwill in the matter, I hope for the best.'<sup>132</sup>

That hope was not met. In October of that year Jenkinson wrote bitterly:

The Commissioners, however, have shown so little disposition to act with common justice to the Chapter in the matter of the University, or to pay any attention to suggestions which have been offered them on that subject, that, even if an opportunity presented itself, I confess I see no reason to think that any advantage would arise from a conference with them...I affirm from my own certain knowledge, that the University never would have been formed had the Chapter reason to suppose that any less revenue would have been assigned for its maintenance than £10,000 a year as an endowment.'<sup>133</sup>

Included in that sum was the supposed value of three stalls which Van Mildert had been unable to annex to the university before his death.

When Thorp gave his charge to the clergy of his archdeaconry in the year of the bishop's death, he paid tribute to his many excellent qualities but, surprisingly, made no reference to his part in the founding of the university. This can hardly have been an accidental omission and possibly indicates Thorp's view that the university was really his own creation, aided by the other members of the chapter. Two years later in another charge he gave his own assessment of it. He wrote of the class of divinity students:

When I see the advantages which these students enjoy under the able instruction of the Professor [Jenkyns] and under a system not of mere lectures, but of practical teaching; and recollect the labour and difficulty to which the young men of my own day were subjected after the conclusion of their academic life, by reason of a deficient clerical education, I am tempted to regret that the same facilities of Theological study and acquirement were not afforded at an earlier period which are now assured to students within the walls of Durham,

and in the foundation of St Cuthbert. I express not my hope, but my strong and cheering conviction, that this tender but healthy plant will as time goes on spread into a goodly tree, beneath the branches of which religion and learning will delight to dwell in ages yet to come. It will be a lasting honour to the Dean and Chapter of Durham that it was set and nourished by their care and prescience.<sup>134</sup>

In that same year, 1838, Bishop Edward Maltby, described the university to Lord John Russell as 'a place of the best education, planted in the extremity of England, at such a distance from our existing universities, yet furnishing as good or better instruction to all the northern counties, at a very cheap rate.'<sup>135</sup> Maltby had reason to be grateful for the university furnished him with curates for his diocese; at his first ordination, held on 24 July 1836, six of the nine Deacons were Durham men. In the Easter term 1840 there were 31 students in Arts, 30 in Divinity, and 21 in Engineering; in the corresponding term 1850 there were 73 in Arts and 41 in Divinity.

When Jenkinson died in July 1840, Thorp wrote to Earl Grey soliciting his support for the Deanery: 'It is deemed of some importance in the University that I should succeed to the Deanery, and that the contemplated union of the office of Dean and Warden announced by Lord John Russell should take place on this occasion; - and though the advantage to myself of such an arrangement would not be great it would enable me to carry on the business of the University with satisfaction and I hope with success.'<sup>136</sup> He wrote in similar vein to Lord John Russell but without success. On 22 May 1841 the Durham Convocation approved a scheme of the Ecclesiastical Commission for the further endowment of the university. Among the changes made were - the office of Warden on its first vacancy was to be annexed to the Deanery and the



present Warden's stipend of £500 was to be used to found a Professorship of Hebrew and other oriental languages, and canonries in the cathedral chapter were to be attached to the chairs of divinity and Greek.

Thorp continued in office as Warden until his death in 1862 at the age of seventy-nine - far too long and the university suffered, for by February 1862 the total number of students had dropped to forty-two, but by then the Government had appointed a Commission of Enquiry to look into the state of the university.

A final tribute must be paid to the man who having been given the idea by Thorp made the university possible by his personal generosity and persistent support, Bishop William Van Mildert:

To have founded a University after the manner of a great medieval churchman would have been no mean achievement in any age; to have done so in 1831-33 when the radical wolves "Hume and Co" were howling at the door of the ecclesiastical sheepfold was something of a miracle.<sup>137</sup>

#### NOTES

- |                  |                                                                    |
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## CHICHESTER DIOCESAN THEOLOGICAL COLLEGE

Founded in 1839, Chichester stands within the Anglo-Catholic tradition. R.S.T. Haslehurst who wrote a brief history of the college at its centenary regarded it as a fruit of the Tractarian movement' and claimed its real founder was Archdeacon Manning.<sup>2</sup> Shane Leslie in his biography of Manning had claimed the same - 'Manning started a seminary...with Gladstone as subscriber.'<sup>3</sup> This is to claim too much, both for Manning and for the Tractarian movement.

We have seen in earlier chapters that there was a growing body of opinion critical of the universities' failure to offer a proper theological education to those undergraduates who needed it. Calls for reform were heard long before the first Tract was published in 1833, and already from that year a few Oxbridge graduates chose to spend an academic year at Durham doing theology under H.J. Rose or Henry Jenkyns.

In 1824 the anonymous Oxford graduate who wrote to Peel on this matter quoted with approval the example of the theological seminary in the United States and recommended: 'that a certain number of colleges in both universities be set apart, for the sole and exclusive education of the clergy; that in such colleges... paramount attention be paid to all those studies, more strictly and immediately tending to promote attainments, and frame and encourage a conduct, suitable to the Christian priesthood.'<sup>4</sup> In 1826 another anonymous reformer proposed that 'there should be instituted a Theological School for each Diocese at the Cathedral Town; and that the clergy attached to the Cathedral, or a part of them, as may be necessary should be the Professors.'<sup>5</sup>

The Oxbridge monopoly on educating ordinands to degree level had been broken with the opening of King's College London in 1831 and of Durham two years later. St David's Lampeter, opened in 1827, would also eventually be allowed to confer academic degrees. And St Bees had been training non-graduates since 1817; CMS too was receiving a trickle of graduates into its college at Islington. Bishop Blomfield in his primary visitation charge in London in 1830 had spoken of 'the necessity of one or more theological seminaries.'<sup>6</sup> A year later Chancellor Raikes of Chester wrote approvingly of the three year course at the American Episcopal Church's Seminary in New York.<sup>7</sup>

The climate of opinion which made Chichester's founding possible already existed long before Keble preached his Oxford Assize Sermon or Newman wrote a Tract. Pusey's pamphlet Remarks on the Prospective and Past Benefits of Cathedral Institutions with its detailed proposals for theological schools attached to cathedrals, published at the beginning of 1833, was written not as a pre-Tractarian initiative but in response to the Evangelical Lord Henley's proposals for reforming cathedrals.<sup>8</sup>

Pusey's pamphlet met with an immediate and positive response from a former Fellow of Balliol in Suggestions, relating to the Professional Education of the Clergy, in furtherance of the proposals advocated by Professor Pusey and Others, with the view of preserving and, at the same time, improving our Cathedral Institutions, so as to make them also Colleges of Theological Learning. This anonymous author agreed in general with Pusey's proposals but preferred that students be given the option of transferring to a cathedral institution after two years at university, and then after a further two years study a new degree of



'Scholar in Divinity' be awarded to them, indicating their satisfactory application to the study of theology.<sup>9</sup> Bishop Henry Phillpotts expressed the hope in his visitation charge in 1833 that such a theological school might be attached to his cathedral at Exeter. In Dublin, Archbishop Richard Whately was at this same time trying to establish a clerical seminary in the shadow of Trinity College.<sup>10</sup> W.E. Gladstone, then just a young politician, was concerned to help and save the cathedrals thinking that the bishops were indifferent to their fate. He wrote to Manning on 27 September 1837, 'For my own part, I confess, the grand alteration which I should desire is the recognition of the principle of cathedral institutions by the maintenance of the establishments, and the effectuation of that principle by the connection of active and chiefly learned and educational duties with them in the sense of Pusey's plan.'<sup>11</sup>

It is against this background of ferment and plans for reform that Chichester's founding must be seen. More important still were the three men whose joint efforts brought it into being. These were William Otter Bishop of Chichester 1836-40, George Chandler Dean of Chichester 1830-59, and Henry Edward Manning Rector of East Lavington and later Archdeacon until he became a Roman Catholic in 1851.

William Otter was the son of a Nottinghamshire vicar. He graduated BA and 4th Wrangler at Jesus College Cambridge in 1790 and was ordained in the following year to the curacy of Helston in Cornwall which he held with the mastership of the local grammar school. He was elected a Fellow of Jesus College in February 1796 whereupon he returned to Cambridge. He resided as Fellow and Tutor until 1804 when he married and became Rector of Colmworth in Bedfordshire. He also became Rector

of Sturmer in Essex in 1810 and obtained the more valuable living of Chetwynd in Shropshire in 1816, to which he added the vicarage of Kinlet in Shropshire a year later! In 1822 he went to Oxford with his wife and family to be private tutor to the 3rd Lord Ongley.

Two of Otter's earliest published sermons were on education - Reasons for continuing the education of the poor at the present crisis (Shrewsbury 1820) and The Importance of Learning to the Clergy (Cambridge 1820). One writer said of him that it was his 'conviction that the welfare and very salvation of England depended mainly - under divine providence - on the improvement of education.'<sup>12</sup> In 1825 Dr George D'Oyly, the Rector of Lambeth who had married Otter's wife's younger sister, appointed him to the newly erected church of St Mark's Kennington which he held under licence of non-residence at his two Shropshire livings. When D'Oyly secured his appointment as the first Principal of King's College London, he vacated all his other preferment.

Of the five years that Otter presided over that institution, Hearnshaw the college's historian wrote:

Of the activities of Principal Otter in King's College, singularly little trace remains. His inaugural lecture, with all its ornaments of rhetoric, was never published. Of the weekly sermons that he preached in the college chapel on Sundays, and of the discourses in divinity that he delivered in the lecture theatre on Mondays, no record whatever survives. He was not a member of the governing body of the college ... He held a "situation" more eminent in degree, but identical in kind with that of the porter... He certainly exercised no sort of control over the policy of the college.'<sup>13</sup>

But all remembered him with affection for his sweet reasonableness.

F.D. Maurice said of him that 'by a courtesy which made itself felt in

all his words and acts, and which evidently proceeded from a divine root within, he caused men of the most opposite opinions to understand that they were parts of the same family.''<sup>14</sup>

His reconciling nature is expressed in his correspondence with Julius Hare to whom he offered the Archdeaconry of Lewes. In a letter to him dated 27 February 1840, he wrote, 'Upon all great principles of doctrine and discipline as well as on the manner of urging them, I am sure that we are agreed; respecting politics, I have made it my duty in the diocese never to enquire and never to make them a ground of distinction with any one, unless they were extravagantly intrusive, and as for all minor differences of opinion (if such there are) I am sure that we have both of us enough of Christian charity and earnestness in the Christian cause to prevent them from interfering with our cordial and united exertions for the spiritual welfare of the diocese in its great concerns.''<sup>15</sup> A later letter reveals that he appointed Hare believing him to be a Tractarian sympathiser which Otter was not but he did so because he believed him to be 'the best qualified to undertake it'; he was naturally pleased to discover Hare's leaning in these matters to be rather towards his own. He described his own approach to controversial issues in this way, 'I have always thought that it is better for the advancement of those great truths which we hold in common, and even more favourable to the establishment of the minor ones about which our views may differ, not to shock the feelings of the weaker brethren by any strong statement in opposition to them but rather first to obtain confidence and thus to prepare the way gradually for the truth.''<sup>16</sup>

Charles Marriott, whose churchmanship was markedly different from



Otter's appreciated him greatly. He wrote to Newman on 25 March 1840, 'I do not know what I should do without the Bishop to obey. Much as people laugh at him for his forgetfulness, he is a wonderful man, and every day he convinces me more and more that our bishops are not destitute of a gift of Government though they may not always have faith to use it.''<sup>7</sup>

Some of Otter's personal correspondence from the 1830s has survived; it is with politically influential noblemen, pleading his faithful support of the Whig cause during the long years they were out of office. At the age of sixty-eight he was rewarded with the see of Chichester.

He waited two years before carrying out his first and only visitation of the diocese. In his charge to the clergy delivered in June 1838, he dealt in some detail with the subject of education. 'Another pleasing feature which the present state of society presents to us is the increasing estimation and importance attached to Christian Instruction in our highest seminaries of education, public as well as private, and this not only in reference to those who are destined for the ministry, but also to the great body of our youth, whatever be their prospects or destination...'<sup>8</sup> A better educated laity meant the clergy too should be more obviously competent in their professional duties. 'It cannot be concealed that this general advancement in Christian knowledge, diffusing itself through our lay brethren in the Church, constitutes an additional call upon the clergy for a more diligent application of their own minds to those studies which serve either directly or indirectly to increase their usefulness, or to shed grace upon their profession.'<sup>9</sup>

He urged the younger clergy in particular to give themselves to being perpetual students and to have 'daily recourse to that fountain of wisdom and piety, the Scriptures themselves.' This was especially important in the face of secular attacks on the Church. He referred also to 'the increasing labour and expense now bestowed upon the education of Dissenting Ministers, and especially to the ceaseless zeal and energies and the inexhaustible resources of the Roman Catholic priesthood in their endeavours for conversion.'<sup>20</sup> They were not to think that their education had ended when they were ordained, 'it was then only properly begun.' Every day, he stressed, must have some time in it for study and contemplation and for advancement in scriptural knowledge. What he did not apprise his hearers of was that he was even then in the process of setting up a clerical training institution in the diocese.

The initiative for founding Chichester Theological College came from the Bishop himself and not from Manning. We have Manning's own words to prove this. In a letter to Newman at Oxford dated 2 March 1838, he wrote somewhat mockingly:

I have got a case of the *τοπος ἀργυρόταυρος*. My Bishop excessively wishes to establish in Chichester a college for candidates for Holy Orders - to take them for 6, or 12 months, and indoctrinate, and break them in. He has begged me to think of some scheme - I can only think of a lease of a house, and a few sets of rooms, and some good Catholic who will live on £100 a year to poison them up to the crown of their heads. I have a promise from a friend of such a sum for 5 years. The Bishop is ready for any reasonable scheme - and would lend his best aid, and countenance, even to requiring candidates to attend, and having greater regard to them afterwards, if worthy, in the Diocese.<sup>21</sup>



Without the Bishop's consent and support, it is inconceivable that a diocesan college, such as Chichester was, could have been founded. In a later letter to Otter, Manning again indicated how important the Bishop had been:

Dr Pusey tells me that the Bishop of Bath and Wells is engaged in forming a Theological College, under Mr. Pinder, who was in the West Indies. Three persons have subscribed each £100 a year for its support. I hope every Diocese may follow your Lordship's example.<sup>22</sup>

Manning seems to have been unaware of Bishop Law's own earlier example at St Bees!

The last contemporary witness to the primary importance of Otter in the founding of Chichester is Joshua Watson, that leading laymen of the High Church party. After Otter's death, Archdeacon Hare organised a collection in aid of establishing a training school for teachers to be called "Bishop Otter's School" as a memorial to the Bishop and as a fitting expression of the diocese's regard. Watson subscribed to the appeal and wrote to Hare, 'You have judged rightly of my feelings on the occasion; and I thank you much for the opportunity which your appeal has given me of concurring with your self and others in the Diocesan expression of affectionate regard for the amiable Bishop, 'tho perhaps I may not entirely agree with you in the selection of the object. Training Schools are likely to be common in all Sees; whilst the College to prepare candidates for holy orders would seem to be the more peculiar work of Bishop Otter's...'<sup>23</sup>

On the Sunday following Otter's funeral (30 August 1840), Dean Chandler preached a eulogistic sermon in the cathedral. He commented at length on the Bishop's personal character, confirming the picture already noted of a loving, kindly and conciliatory pastor. He claimed



that during Otter's short episcopate 'more was done, under his superintending care, for the spiritual improvement of the Diocese, than has been effected, in the space of an equal number of years, by any ruler, since the day when Wilfrid preached the Gospel to the wild tribes inhabiting these shores, and became the eldest name on our line of Bishops.'<sup>24</sup> In support of this judgement, he cited three of Otter's achievements - the Diocesan Association with its triple aim of erecting and enlarging churches, procuring additional clergy for the poorer areas, and encouraging and assisting religious education throughout the diocese, secondly the revival of rural deaneries and of clergy chapters in the deaneries, and thirdly and most especially the diocesan college.

He was deeply sensible of the defect which yet exists in our general system of training future Candidates for the sacred ministry, who, even at our universities, have little opportunity of pursuing a course of instruction strictly professional, and, in the interval between the time of taking their degree and entering into holy orders, are left without any guidance to direct their studies, and to form their habits for the sacred office to which they are about to devote themselves. He also knew how completely it accorded with the true and legitimate and ancient spirit and design of Cathedral establishments, to build on their foundations such an institution as he designed to supply the defect, and to remedy the evil, which he perceived. It has been done, - it has been carried into successful execution. And while we rejoice to observe that the example has already been followed in one important Diocese, we trust that similar institutions are about to spring up in various other ecclesiastical stations within our national church.<sup>25</sup>

In the absence of any more detailed statement from Otter's own pen, these words of his close colleagues give us the most reliable reflection of his thinking which caused him to found the college. He had, of course, seen the needs at first hand as a Cambridge tutor and

as Principal of King's.

The second most important figure in this work was Dr George Chandler (1780-1859), who held the living of All Souls Langham Place in London from 1825-47 and the Deanery of Chichester from 1830 to his death at the age of seventy-nine. Alumni Oxoniensis records him as the son of John Chandler, a Gentleman of Whitley, Surrey. He matriculated at New College at the age of sixteen, graduated BCL in 1804, was a student of the Middle Temple, and became a fellow of his college in 1816. He was made Deacon in 1807 and ordained Priest the following year. He held the rectory of Southam in Warwickshire and was domestic chaplain to the Duke of Buccleuch and Queensbury. Among his many published sermons was the one he preached at the consecration of John Banks Jenkinson in Lambeth Palace as Bishop of St David's in 1825. In that same year he was the Bampton Lecturer. The Crown appointed him to the living of All Souls Marylebone which he held in plurality with Southam until he was preferred to the Deanery of Chichester. In 1832 he served as a member of Earl Grey's Commission of Inquiry, the forerunner of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners.

The Dean and the cathedral are mentioned in three of the eight paragraphs of the 'Rules of the College' which were drawn up by Otter in 1840 in consultation with Chandler and Manning:

I. Chichester Diocesan College is founded under the sanction of the Bishop, and in connection with the Cathedral, for the Theological instruction of candidates for Holy Orders in the interval between the degree of BA and the office of Deacon.

VI. The Pupils will attend the Service of the Cathedral once a day, and partake of the Communion at least once every month, and will be requested to wear the gown and hood of their degree while in the Cathedral.



VIII. The Dean, the Archdeacon, and the Prebendary in Residence shall be a Council to assist the Bishop in the Disposal of any Property or Funds which may at present attach or hereafter accrue to the college, and in framing any new Regulations which may be deemed requisite for its better Government.

Dean Chandler exercised the power granted him in paragraph 8, objecting in 1844 to the requirement that students should subscribe to a new set of 'Rules of Conduct' drawn up by Principal Browne. An article in the Christian Remembrancer of 1840 stated that the college 'has been established under the direction of the Bishop, but is generally understood to owe its existence principally to the suggestions and exertions of the Dean of Chichester. It is attached to the Cathedral, and is established in one of the residentiary houses.'<sup>26</sup> As this article was largely an extract from a charge delivered to the clergy by Chandler and was presumably based on information supplied by him, it may be assumed to reflect his personal assessment of his own role in the foundation!

Otter certainly consulted with the Dean in the important matter of who was to be the first Principal. When Manning was pressing the candidature of Marriott whom the Bishop had met and been impressed by, Otter wrote, 'I think it right to tell you that I do not like to come to any decision upon a matter so important without consulting the Dean and yourself and talking it over frankly and fully.'<sup>27</sup> But the Dean's contribution was more than an advisory one; when the college opened in 1839, the Principal and students were accommodated in a prebendal house at 4 Canon Lane provided by the Dean and Chapter. Manning wrote to Samuel Wilberforce on 18 October 1839 about this, mentioning Hutchinson, one of the residentiary canons, for his great generosity:

If we prosper, I hope to see a new house built on the site after a proper plan. Marriott has three pupils, and the principle is silently establishing itself in the conviction of many who doubted and feared



and hung back. The Dean has restored weekly Communion in the Cathedral.<sup>28</sup>

A year later, a further house, the property of the late Dr Sandin, was bought and Marriott and some of the students moved into it. A letter from Marriott to Newman in August 1840 gives the impression that it was the Dean and Chapter who put up the capital to buy it.<sup>29</sup>

Chandler also contributed towards the stipend of the Principal. The first college register reveals that in 1844-45 Manning, Marriott (now back at Oriel College) and he contributed £160 between them towards the Principal's stipend of £350. Principal Swainson bore testimony to Chandler's ongoing financial support; he wrote in the college register at the time of the Dean's death -

It was to the love and forethought of Dr Chandler, encouraged by the Reverend Henry Edward Manning and the Reverend Charles Marriott that this college owes its origins, as it is to the liberality of the Rev Charles Edward Hutchinson that the Principal is indebted for the houses which he has occupied since the foundation of the College, and the Dean was ever anxious in every way to strengthen the hands of the College and to facilitate and increase its usefulness.

He had left all his books to the College, but this bequest was withdrawn by a codicil dated September 1853. At the same time however he made and continued a bequest of two thousand pounds to three Trustees viz. the new Dean, the Archdeacon of Chichester, and the Prebendary of Wittering which was to be bestowed at their pleasure and in any proportions which they thought fit among three following objects viz the beautifying of the Cathedral, the aiding of the Theological College, or the erection or re-erection of a church in Chichester, a wish being expressed that a sum of money should be raised in each case to meet the grant that might be made.

The Trustees decided to spend the bequest on beautifying and enlarging the choir of the cathedral. Swainson tried to dissuade them

from this and in a letter dated 18 March 1859 reminded them of the Dean's abiding interest in the college from its commencement, 'The origins of the College may be said to be due to him, and in him during the twenty years of its existence it found a constant and uniform friend...' Swainson wanted the money to be spent on providing a proper house, library and lecture room which could be vested in the Dean and Chapter but the Trustees were not persuaded. This college register entry and Swainson's letter bear testimony to Chandler's place among the college founders. Perhaps more importantly, he also provided the thread of continuity through the first two decades of the college's history - bishops came and died, principals came and went, Dr Chandler remained at the centre of things.

The third and best known, though the most junior, of the three founding fathers was Henry Edward Manning. He was the son of a former director of the Bank of England and MP. At Oxford he was a contemporary of Gladstone with whom he became friends. He married the daughter of the Rev John Sargent, a well-known Evangelical, who lived and ministered in the united benefice of Lavington and Graffham in Sussex for twenty-seven years and who had written a best-selling biography of the missionary Henry Martyn. As late as 1835 Manning still identified himself with the Evangelicals but from the following year his contact with Keble and Newman grew. He was made Deacon in December 1832 to serve as Sargent's curate; by Easter he was engaged to his daughter Caroline. Sargent died in May 1833 and Manning was immediately appointed rector in his place by Caroline's grandmother who held the advowson. Caroline's sister Emily was married to Samuel Wilberforce in the following year, and her other sisters Mary and Sophia married Henry



Wilberforce and George Ryder, son of the Evangelical Bishop of Lichfield, respectively. Within a year of his ordination, Manning had become the incumbent of a wealthy living and married into a family with many influential connections.

He was a gifted speaker who quickly made his mark in the diocese. In July 1835 when he had been in Orders only three years Archdeacon Webber invited him to preach in the cathedral on the occasion of his visitation. The sermon The English Church: its Succession and Witness for Christ was an eloquent argument for the English bishops being the successors of the apostles. It was well received and in due course published. In 1836 he was to the fore again, acting as one of the secretaries at a public meeting to found a diocesan society in aid of the Foreign Translations Committee of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, seconding a motion moved by Dean Chandler. He came to the attention of the new Bishop who appointed him a rural dean in 1837 and invited him to be the preacher at his primary visitation in Chichester cathedral on 13 June 1838. The sermon, The Rule of Faith, when published with an extensive appendix, proved to be a controversial document, winning praise from Newman but earning a public rebuke from Bishop J.B. Sumner of Chester who was a definite Evangelical.

Manning made common cause with his Bishop against the Ecclesiastical Commission and against the encroachments of the secular power in education. Against the one he published a tract entitled The Principle of the Ecclesiastical Commission examined in a Letter to the Bishop of Chichester and drew up an address to the Archbishop which he presented to the clergy of the Chichester archdeaconry meeting under the Dean's chairmanship. The clergy accepted it unanimously and Manning was



elected a proctor to present it to convocation. On the second issue, he again made his mark with a sermon preached in the cathedral on 31 May 1838. He argued that education should be based on religion, and opposed a 'godless system of education.' He also contended that cathedral institutions should be utilised to help train teachers, an idea supported by Dean Chandler. Otter appointed him Secretary to the Diocesan Board in connection with the National Society, a post which brought him into further contact with both Dean and Bishop.

Extant correspondence in the possession of one of the Bishop's descendants includes eight letters from the Rector of Lavington to Otter in 1837, three of them personal ones about his wife's terminal illness, one of them about the Bishop's view on the role of rural deans, and one enclosing a draft scheme for a 'Diocesan Fund for building, and repairing Churches and Chapels, and for providing additional Curates in populous places.' The same collection of letters includes a further sixteen from 1838 which reflect his deepening relationship with his bishop.

In his public letter to Otter The Principles of the Ecclesiastical Commission examined in January 1838, he recommended cathedral chapters should be revitalised so as to become centres of theological learning in which the canons might serve as instructors to candidates for ordination.<sup>30</sup> The subject of clerical education came up again in a private letter to Bishop Otter on 30 January 1838. He was defending the Oxford Tracts and commented: 'Unhappily from neglect of Clerical Education our Clergy, and of course therefore the laity, seldom rise above the theology of the last century. The doctrines of the 150 years immediately following the Reformation are now nova atque inaudita to

modern ears.<sup>31</sup>

It was perhaps these letters, both public and private, which caused the Bishop to ask Manning to devise a scheme for a diocesan clerical training establishment. The latter's letter to Newman on 2 March soliciting his advice is the earliest known reference to it. Newman answered four days later, having discussed Otter's wish with Pusey. At that very time, Pusey and Newman were on the look out for a suitable house in Oxford where graduates could live and study together - an arrangement not unlike the one suggested for Chichester. Newman wrote in reply:

Your college scheme is good. As to a head to it, Pusey suggests Ward the Bishop of the Isle of Man's son - which I do not much fancy - as I told him. I suggested Seager, which he seems to think plausible. He also suggests your Dean himself, if you can trust him - what say you to this? It would be a means of strengthening cathedrals...<sup>32</sup>

It was just as well the idea of Seager was not pursued as he joined the Roman Catholic Church in October 1843; he had been a scholar of Worcester College and a pupil of Pusey's assisting him with his Hebrew lectures and would later become Professor of Hebrew at Manning's ill-fated Kensington College.

On 15 March Manning wrote to Otter drawing his attention to a pamphlet by the Rev G.A. Selwyn, then a private tutor at Eton, entitled Are Cathedral Institutions useless? The recent actions of the Cathedral Commission had provoked him into writing this powerful defence of cathedrals, not as they were but as they could be if the intentions of their founders were carried out. Selwyn saw cathedral schools of theology as a means of enabling the poorest men of merit to obtain a training as they could not afford a university education. 'My fervent



prayer', he wrote, 'is that the ministry of the Church may take root downwards.'<sup>33</sup> Selwyn circulated the pamphlet privately amongst friends inviting their comments; Gladstone received one and sent a copy to Manning. Later the pamphlet was published and dedicated to Gladstone.

The section relating to theological education reads as follows:

The lectures of the Divinity Lecturer are attended by as many of the Probationary Deacons as are not yet employed in other parts of the diocese, by the students in the missionary class, and by the theological students who have completed their university education, but have not yet been admitted to orders. Many other students not on the foundation are admitted into the class of the Professor on sufficient recommendation, and prepare themselves for Orders under his direction.

A general examination is held annually by the Dean and Chapter, with the assistance of the Divinity Lecturer and the Masters of the cathedral school. At this time the Theological Students are examined, and the best selected to be presented to the Bishop for Ordination.

After this they become Probationary Deacons. At the same time the Cathedral University Scholars present their testimonials from the Colleges in which they have graduated, and request to be re-admitted upon the Cathedral Foundation as Theological Students. The missionary scholars also present their certificates of having completed the required course. The Scholars of the Cathedral Free School are also examined, and the most promising are chosen to fill the vacancies among the Cathedral University Scholars. A second class is selected for the service of foreign missions. Those of inferior talent but of equally good general character are recommended by the Examiners as qualified to be Masters of Parochial Schools...<sup>34</sup>

On 8 May the Dean wrote to Manning inviting him to preach in the cathedral on the 31st (the occasion of his 'national education' sermon) and broached the subject of appointing a Principal, 'Now for your plan - I feel disposed to say little more than just this; you have reflected on the matter so much more than I have done, than I can do scarcely



anything else than adopt your sentiments, especially as they seem to me to be just and sound - I am still somewhat doubtful about the ways and means - whether you can make it worthwhile for such a man as you require to undertake the task, unaided by other engagements. If you can, it is certainly better that his attention should be undivided.'<sup>35</sup>

He then went on to write about a plan of his own for training schoolmasters at the prebendal school in Chichester; the growing warmth of their relationship may be discerned in the form of address the Dean used - in the above letter of May, Manning is addressed as 'My dear sir' - by September of that year, he has become 'My very dear Friend'.

On 14 May Gladstone wrote to Manning offering him £50 for 'your Chichester scheme'. In later life Manning said that Gladstone had been the first contributor to the theological college in that sum but it may have been the money wasn't paid till very much later for Gladstone wrote to Manning on 11 April 1840 'I shall be delighted to pay the Chichester College contribution when and wherever you may suggest and shall trust to your informing me when you come up.'

On 1 June Manning wrote encouragingly to Otter about the scheme, 'I will have the papers about the Clerical Education ready by the same time, and perhaps your Lordship would be able to take a look at them and communicate the subject to the Duke of Richmond. It seems to me more easily practicable than before, and I think I have some suggestions by which the project may be so guardedly begun as to obviate the danger of a Syncope, into which, the Dean tells me, a Dr Burroughs and his School of Prophets collapsed once upon a time.'<sup>36</sup> Was this a reference to the private theological college headed by a certain Dr Burrow of Epping who is referred to in the open letter to

Peel of 1824? 'The Rev Dr. Burrow has lately taken a large and commodious house at Epping, near London, where he proposes "to form a society of students in divinity, who shall have graduated at either of the English universities, for the sole purpose of preparation for the church, a preparation not merely having a reference to the [Bishop's] examination of candidates for orders, but embracing every branch of study and practice, tending to produce the qualifications which a conscientious man would wish to possess before he enters on his ministry."'

At this stage of the planning, Marriott's name had not been suggested for the post of principal. In mid-May Marriott wrote a long newsy letter to Sir Thomas Acland in which he said 'Oriel College Oxford will always find me; and so will Bradfield, Reading, Berks.' Newman's diary shows that he was meeting regularly with Marriott who was assisting him at St Mary's Oxford. The diary records that he received a letter from Manning on 6 June and replied immediately, 'I wish we could get you a Principal' and adding as a postscript 'Why cannot you be Principal for a year or two yourself?' On 28 June Manning met Newman in Oxford, and dined with him next day. Marriott was also in Oxford till the 30th. This is probably when Marriott was persuaded to go to Chichester if Otter would have him. Manning, at any rate wrote to his bishop who replied on 3 July:

I have just received your letter and though I was making enquiries myself respecting the same object, yet as my rule and wish is to take the first best candidate that is offered and as I have the greatest confidence in your judgement and disinterestedness, I shall not wait for the result of my own speculations - but I do wish to make some enquiries in my own way respecting the gentleman you have proposed. This I consider a matter of duty and I shall set about it without

delay, convinced that I shall have your acquiescence in the propriety of mature deliberation in a point of so much importance. I am not convinced at present that we are right to inflict upon the candidate the necessity of celibacy...<sup>38</sup>

Pusey wrote to Newman about this time from Weymouth - the letter is undated but must be before 19 July:

I am sorry that we are to lose Marriott, though for a time; people say that the fish who keeps out of the way of the deep net, sometimes venture overnear to Marriott, and are caught unawares; as others, escaping Marriott are caught by your Dayman [?]. It is right probably for such an object, and as you are satisfied, so am I; but one can scarcely be too greedy of retaining people at Oxford. One great chandelier gives a great deal more light, than many more candles here and there.<sup>39</sup>

Newman wrote to J.F. Christie, vicar of Badgeworth in Gloucestershire and a fellow of Oriel, on 5 August 'Do you not know there is a chance of Marriott leaving Oxford for a year or so?' Three days previously, Otter had informed Manning that he had met Marriott and been 'much pleased' with him 'little as I have had the means of knowing him', but the Bishop still wasn't ready to make up his mind.<sup>40</sup> Tom Mozley who had married Newman's sister Harriett recorded this meeting of Otter and Marriott in his Reminiscences (a book which Newman felt wasn't always accurate) - 'Before entering upon his work he [Marriott] had to see the Bishop, who happened to be at Derby, with his son-in-law, William Strutt, afterwards Lord Belper. My eldest brother met him at dinner, and thought him a great curiosity.'<sup>41</sup>

Newman continued to spread the news abroad of Marriott's impending move - in letters of 7 August to J.W. Bowden and R.W. Church, and on the 19th he wrote to Henry Wilberforce, 'You have heard C. Marriott is



delay, convinced that I shall have your acquiescence in the propriety of mature deliberation in a point of so much importance. I am not convinced at present that we are right to inflict upon the candidate the necessity of celibacy...<sup>38</sup>

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Newman continued to spread the news abroad of Marriott's impending move - in letters of 7 August to J.W. Bowden and R.W. Church, and on the 19th he wrote to Henry Wilberforce, 'You have heard C. Marriott is

going to be Manning's [!] Principal at Chichester.'<sup>42</sup> But the matter was still not settled for Otter had not yet accepted Manning's nominee. By October both Newman and Marriott were upset at the delay and on the 18th they wrote to Manning voicing their frustration: Marriott first -

I write to inform you that I have determined in case I am not wanted at Chichester, to go abroad, as Wooten says it would be well. I do not know that it is any use telling you I want to know very much whether I am to be appointed or not. I have as yet heard nothing since I left you, and I had hoped to have heard today. If the thing is still unsettled apud vos, I should be glad to least to know why it is so. If the cause of delay is likely to continue, I should like to get into a warm climate at least for a time, as my chest is still out of order. I have leave, however, to go to Chichester if I am appointed...<sup>43</sup>

Newman wrote:

I add to Marriott's letter a brief note to say first how I rejoice you are going abroad - next how I envy you are going to Rome - thirdly how I hope you will thoroughly convert Rose whom you will meet there - fourthly to say that Marriott must not be kept in suspense. It is a most miserable thing for his health, I assure you - and I shall recommend him forthwith to write to the Bishop and withdraw proprio motu, unless the Bishop decides one way or the other. It is very cruel indeed, though it is not meant to be so. If there is anything more than another likely to do Marriott harm, it is this shilly shally way of going on.<sup>44</sup>

Marriott's own sparsely worded diary records letters to and from the Bishop and Dean in October and November but we know nothing of their contents. Newman broke the news of Marriott's definite appointment to his sister Harriett on 2 November. 'Marriott is to go to Chichester after all - but not till after Christmas - meanwhile he goes with Manning to Rome.'

Marriott wrote to Newman from Rome on 4 January 1839:



Manning has been giving me a good lecture about what is to be done in Seminario. Wiseman has told me of a book by a German named Theiner on the history of such institutions, which I see ends in Maynooth. I rather hope to get hold of the statutes of one which has lately been reformed by Cardinal Lambruschini - but what Wiseman told me of in the *Annale delle scienze Religiose* was a mere review, with some statements of general character... Wiseman promises me an introduction to the head of a Seminary at Juilly which he says is 20 miles from Paris, and I think I shall probably take advantage of it, though one cannot do much by merely looking over a place of that sort. Of course one great difference between all of these and what I shall have to work at is that they take them in young, whereas I shall only have the last two years - and those without the preparation of the former. Hence arise both facilities and difficulties sufficiently evident to you...<sup>45</sup>

It is surprising that Marriott should have been thinking in terms of a two year course at Chichester; the original idea as described by Manning was for 'six or twelve months.' Marriott wrote again to Newman from Lyons on 31 January 1839:

You ought now to do what you can towards teaching me to hocagize, for you know you sent me to Chichester, if I go there after all. I am not a little astonished to find myself really within an inch of such an undertaking. However I am also more and more satisfied that it is worth giving up everything for... I hope to be at Chichester before Ash Wednesday. Have heard from the Bishop, no pupils certain yet - so if you know of any bid them apply at once and I dare say they might be domiciled in less than a week after my arrival if they liked. I should be obliged to you if you would mention it, saying there is room, as the Bishop seems to think it well I should look out for men...<sup>46</sup>

He arrived in Chichester in February but did not have any students until Easter. The opening entry in the first college register reads :  
'Chichester Diocesan College was opened on the second Monday after



Easter 1839. The lectures commenced on Wednesday April 10.' (See Vol 2 Appendix 8 A) Three students had registered, all Oxford men. Marriott's correspondence with Newman provides some fascinating glimpses of his life at Chichester in those early months when he was still only an inexperienced Deacon himself.

In February he was still wondering if and why anyone would come to him:

No one has yet fixed to come, but if I may guess from the number that talk of it the house will soon be filled. Five is the greatest number it will hold. The Bishop is here and means to stay some time. We are quite ready to receive alumni, and if anyone you know means to apply he should make haste. Nothing but very strong Diocesanarianism could make me think it well that anyone should come and be under my charge instead of in the atmosphere of Oxford...The Bishop wishes our residence here to be a full 8 months. I must stipulate for a vacation of a week or two at Easter, and then I suppose a month beginning near Christmas, and two and a bit after June 30, will be the rest...<sup>47</sup>

On 21 March he wrote to say he was expecting one student to come and read with him for a few weeks before his ordination, but he was more concerned to gain spiritual counsel himself from Newman -

I shall be glad to see you just now - particularly because I hope to be ordained Priest on Whitsunday. It is often a difficulty to me to judge how far we ought to go by ourselves as we can, and how far we ought to use the help of others. This difficulty I feel most now about two things, Private Devotion and confession. Is it desirable for the general advancement of a Christian life, to confess privately to a priest? Is it more particularly desirable with a view to receiving the full grace of the Priesthood in one's Ordination? Is it best, in Private Devotion, to seek a form principally provided for one? Is it best to frame such rules as one can practise regularly, or to attempt more with much failure and irregularity? I fear my questions are sometimes a burden to you - but what is one to do? The order of my mind is barely within the range of sanity & I must be in

some measure dependent. 48

When he wrote on 25 April he sounded depressed and was already toying with the idea of returning to Oxford and trying for the Professorship of Anglo-Saxon. Of his three students, he wrote:

There is no very visible growth in things here, except in the confusedness of my pate, and in Stevens's and Smyth's Divinity. I really think they get on, though not as if they had a teacher with a clear head and a good memory. Another man is come, of whom as yet I know little, for a very short time. This must not be again if it can be helped: - it is too distracting. However Stevens is of very great use to me in many ways, and his advice, and company, and good influence far more than compensates for a little puzzle about his examination and for preventing one or two things which I might otherwise have exacted of Smyth. The latter is, inter nos, a man who makes singularly childish remarks, without however being destitute of sense or of principle. I think Stevens has done him much good, but I should rather flag if left alone with him. I am more and more convinced of the truth of your opinion that I cannot do well here without an assistant...At present we read Acts four days a week, Catholic Epistles two days. This is our primum mobile - 12 to 1. Then every other day I ask a few questions in a part of Pearson on the Creed. We also read out Burton's smaller Ecclesiastical History, and the translation of Eusebius (parts of this must someday be read in Greek - I should like to contrive all through, but the men are not up to it at present so as to make the time bear it well). We read also Herbert's Country Parson by little bits, and now and then a scrap of Poetry... Pray remember me most kindly to Pusey when you see him. I wonder whether they will do anything here in the end at all like his plan. There has been a little question raised about the degree of rule and discipline men are to be under. I expected that all to be settled for me, but it is not so entirely, and advice comes in forms not definite enough to make my way clear. As yet there is no institution properly so called, and one can hardly act as if there was. Applications are not so numerous as I once expected, and some are dropped off. I do not know whether this is my fault or the



natural course of things. I could go on contentedly for myself with one or two, but it would not look very well without.<sup>49</sup>

By 11 May he was down to a single student but still expressing the wish to have a Vice Principal to assist him! He had also had one Deacon for a very short spell but this had been unsatisfactory:

I must avoid short tarriers and lodging men in general, they distract me too much. Such a fellow as T. Stevens however (if such there be) would be a help at any time... I begin to be more at ease about myself, and more hopeful about my work. My head has gained much ground of late, and shews far less symptoms of going wrong.<sup>50</sup>

He also wrote appreciatively of Otter - 'The Bishop looks after me better than I was led to expect, he answers readily and gives very good and useful advice.'<sup>51</sup> He wrote again on Whitsunday, 19 May, to let Newman know he had been ordained Priest that day. 'It is a comfort to feel myself invested with full powers for my work, which I seemed to be doing before as it were by stealth, and beyond my proper range. But that is rather the second thought than the first - which is more of fear.'<sup>52</sup>

In September he reported on an application he had had from a non-graduate who wished to be ordained without benefit of a university education. 'One feels for poor fellows in that case, but I do not think it will do to make this a by way for them. I have a Cambridge man come who seems likely to do well, he seems quiet and well disposed, begins with twice a day at Cathedral, and does not seem to start at anything Catholic, (though I have not yet tried him very severely in that way.)'<sup>53</sup> On 25 October he wrote:

'We get on fairly - we are to have something of an arrangement next week which I suppose will rather alter my position. Manning recommends Celibacy. The Bishop thinks it should not be required. I



do not know if they will settle that point - but there are some minor regulations to be determined...<sup>54</sup>

On 5 December his news was:

I have been sadly idle of late, as I can but just maintain my head against lectures. But Term is now drawing to a close, & I take a holiday now and then. Two students went over with me last Saturday to Lavington and staid over Sunday. I was glad to shew them such a parish and let them hear such sermons. I have been going on too fast with the Bible this Term. Next Term we must take less, and examine it more thoroughly. The Pentateuch, & the Epistles to Romans, Hebrews, Timothy and Titus, - is quite too much for 12 weeks.

We are forming a Library for our College, and drawing up Statutes. I hope to send you the Book-plate soon, as an advertisement to liberal possessors of duplicates. I will also send you our statutes if I may, as soon as they are completed. The Bishop has been taking some pains to prepare them, and Manning and the Dean are also to consult with him about them. I fear there will be some carbone notanda in our list of books, but then they are only for occasional reference...<sup>55</sup>

It is not surprising that Marriott brought his students out to Lavington to see and hear and learn from Manning. One of his parishioners at Lavington recorded his memories later in life of those days; he described the rector as

a wonderful, vigorous man, he counted to call on every house in his Parish once a fortnight - most of his visiting was done by walking - clad in a cassock... He were a wonderful Churchman. He looked like an archangel when he prayed. He never missed going up to church every day, no matter alone or without a congregation. He was an out-of-the-way serious man. Always reading as if seemingly he couldn't find no rest... He were a wonderful man, but he wasn't such a man for the parish, after they made him Archdeacon.<sup>56</sup>

He succeeded in making almost the entire parish communicant - 136 of them in 1843.

One of the significant things revealed by Marriott's correspondence

is how little attention had been paid to recruiting students and to the provision of suitable premises for them. At the start provision was made for only five men - a tiny fraction of the numbers in all the other recent foundations. All the earlier letters of 1838 between the three founders, and those between Manning and Newman show that their overriding concern was to find the right man as principal. Unknown to the Bishop, Manning was scheming with Newman to try and ensure that man was a sound Catholic. How successful they were in their choice of Marriott, so inexperienced and unsure of himself as he was, is open to question, particularly when he is compared to the first principal at Wells, the Rev J.H. Pinder. Given that graduates were not required to attend any further training establishment after university by the bishops, and that the six or twelve months at Chichester must inevitably involve them in further expense, it was essential to appoint a Principal whose reputation would command respect and so attract young graduates who could anticipate the additional expense and trouble would be worth it. The handful who came to study under Marriott is a judgement on their choice.

Reminiscences of him are mostly from his later period at Oxford and portray him as a holy and generous priest, if also somewhat shy, stubborn and idiosyncratic. His brother John wrote of him in a Memoir, 'He had his own way of doing everything, and used most stoutly to protest that it was quite impossible that he should do it any other.'<sup>57</sup> The saintly Edward King, Bishop of Lincoln, said 'If I have any good in me, I owe it to Charles Marriott. He was the most Gospel-like man I have ever met.'<sup>58</sup> Burgon included him amongst his Lives of Twelve Good Men under the heading 'The Man of Saintly Life.'<sup>59</sup> Tuckwell has left a



famous miniature of him in his Reminiscences of Oxford:

Of the minora sidera which revolved around Newman, Charles Marriott was the most notable. Saving every penny for charitable uses, he dressed like a beggar, with a veil over his weak eyes in summer and a dark green shade in winter, draped in a cloak made of two old MA gowns unequally yoked together. He often took me for walks, promising always that he had no small talk, and I must not be offended if he were silent; but it was easy to draw him out, and he would discourse with a kind of dry enthusiasm on some of his philanthropic schemes - economic, social, educational...<sup>60</sup>

When he went to Chichester, he was just twenty-eight with three years experience as a Tutor at Oriel and minimal parochial experience as a Deacon. His letters show him to have gone at Newman's behest but uncertain about what he was called to do there and plagued by ill-health. In his first year, there were just six students and only two of them completed a full term under his supervision. The college register records of his second year:

Lent Term 1840 - Lectures commenced Feb 4 with a general Introductory Lecture from the Principal on the Studies requisite for candidates for Holy Orders. This was printed, together with the Rules of the College as drawn up by the Bishop, and a List of books approved by him for reading and reference, and a form of Testimonial for admission. It was afterwards reprinted and published with slight alterations in the list of Books &c which were desired by the Bishop. The Revd H. Foster occasionally assisted in the lectures, and the Revd H. Browne lectured on the Book of Judges. Lectures closed on Tuesday April 14. During Lent a course of Lectures on the Mosaic Law were delivered by the Revd H. Atkins in the Cathedral.<sup>61</sup>

Marriott had taken a full part, lecturing on the State of the Jews and of the Heathen, on the Gospel History and on the Acts of the Apostles. In the Easter Term, the Rev H. Browne continued to lecture on the Old Testament and the Rev J.L. Ross on Pearson on the Creed, and



the Principal continued his NT lectures. On 20 August Otter died at Broadstairs and was buried in the cathedral on the 28th - 'A great number of the Clergy attended, amongst others those who had been lately ordained by him from the College.' At the start of the Michaelmas Term, it was agreed to purchase new premises which were occupied by the Principal and some of the students, the rest remaining in the prebendal house. Ross and Browne continued their lectures and Marriott was absent on account of ill-health from 15 October to 4 November. During the year, seven more Oxford men and three from Cambridge spent some time at the college; of those ordained in 1840, two had completed two full terms and one a whole year. The term ended on 20 December with an ordination at which two of the students were made Deacon. The college register then records: 'The Principal, before leaving residence, tendered his resignation to the Bishop, but afterwards received his Lordship's permission to absent himself for a time, and to appoint Mr Ross his Deputy.' Ross and Browne ran the college from then on.

At the start of the Lent Term 1841, Marriott delivered a lecture on The Church's Method of Communicating Divine Truth. He prefaced it with some personal remarks:

It was with great regret that I found myself compelled to be absent, during a great part of the last term, from the sphere of my ordinary duties. They are duties which I have found pleasant both from a sense of the importance of their object, and from the disposition which the students of this college have shown, to profit by the opportunities and helps here afforded them. But whilst I must still regret that weak health will prevent my constant residence among you, I cannot but be thankful that I may yet hope to reside partially with you, and that my place will be supplied in my absence by one whom I have known and respected for many years.<sup>62</sup>

In March Marriott formally resigned the office of Principal, and the Bishop appointed as his successor the Rev Henry Browne MA, Rector of Earnley since 1833. Marriott returned to Oxford where in October he became Sub-Dean of Oriel. He had felt keenly Otter's death. He wrote to Newman at that time:

I cannot tell you how we shall miss him. It will make my situation here quite a different thing, even should his successor be ever so favourable to the plan and kind to myself. But I hope that most of all works that have been begun in this diocese will be in any case continued.<sup>63</sup>

Marriott's fears were justified for Otter's successor was hostile to the Tractarians. He was the Rev Philip Nicholas Shuttleworth Warden of New College Oxford. Tuckwell described as 'the last, I think, with Baden-Powell, of the "Noetics", the only Head who in 1834 had courage to vote for the admission of Dissenters to the University; author of a dull book on St Paul's Epistles, but a wit, raconteur, caricaturist, mimic... He invented an inclined mahogany railroad, still in use, whereby decanters circulating at the horse-shoe tables in the Common Room could be carried automatically across the interval of the fireplace.'<sup>64</sup>

As a schoolboy at Winchester he had written a burlesque entitled the Progress of Learning which ended with the predictive lines - 'make me, O sphere-descended Queen, A Bishop, or, at least, a Dean.' His wish was fulfilled at Chichester but he died suddenly in January 1842 after only sixteen months in office. In that time, however, he almost changed the tradition of the college by inviting C.P. Golightly to become its new principal.<sup>65</sup> Golightly was an Oriel graduate whom Newman had invited in 1836 to be curate of Littlemore but he withdrew after Pusey objected



to one of his sermons. He was fiercely anti-Roman Catholic and became a bitter opponent of the Tractarians; he was largely responsible for the furore which greeted Tract XC. Had Golightly accepted Shuttleworth's invitation, the college would certainly not have become 'a fruit of the Tractarian movement'! However, he declined fearing that no one at Oxford would send him any pupils and Browne, a notable scholar who had already been assisting in the college, continued Marriott's work.

Shuttleworth was followed by another critic of the Tractarians, the Rev Ashurst Turner Gilbert, Principal of Brasenose College Oxford, who as Bishop firmly resisted any ritual and ceremonial innovations. He did not favour having a theological college in his diocese; the college register recorded the inevitable consequence - 'In November 1845 the Revd H. Browne resigned the office of Principal. The Bishop accepted the resignation, and as a Successor was not appointed, the College ceased at Christmas 1845, after it had existed nearly seven years during which time there had been admitted as Students forty-six Graduates of Oxford and Cambridge.'<sup>66</sup> The exact details were set out in Browne's handwriting - only fifteen of the forty-six had been ordained in the diocese of Chichester which showed how quickly the idea of a diocesan college declined. Inserted after this statistical information and before the 'Rules of Conduct' is 'Sketch of a Plan for a Diocesan College', again in Browne's hand:

The Bishop may be supposed to rest his objections to the existing Institution upon these two grounds:

- 1) That a Diocesan School of Theology is no longer needed, inasmuch as the Universities have supplied the want which led to the establishment of this College.
- 2) That the College does not, and cannot be expected to attract to it men of a high order of ability: but will naturally become the resort



of persons deficient in attainment or capacity: so that, even supposing them to make good use of the opportunities here afforded, still they will not in general be such men as a Bishop would wish to stock his Diocese with.<sup>67</sup>

Browne then set out his own plan for a college with a principal, six fellows and a student body made up of both graduates and non-graduates. The fellows were to be ordained as Deacons and Priests with their fellowship as their title, and were to be ordinarily resident at the college, assisting with elementary instruction and pursuing their own theological studies and assisting the parochial clergy of the city in their work. The advantages to the Bishop, as Browne saw them, were that competency of knowledge in candidates for Holy Orders would be secured and a succession of well-qualified men would be drawn to the diocese by whose service he could supply any temporary needs and whom he might appoint to livings in due course. The clergy of the diocese would benefit because they would be able to get assistance in an emergency, and would know where to look for curates. The advantage of a fellowship would be an immediate title for Holy Orders, the favourable knowledge of the Bishop, the prospect of a permanent appointment in the diocese and in the meanwhile the opportunities for study with partial maintenance and the fees for their occasional services. But Bishop Gilbert did not approve the scheme.

Browne's term of office had not been an easy one. Appointed by Shuttleworth who, he claimed, had expressed his satisfaction with the college shortly before his death, he had to endure Gilbert's opposition. At Christmas 1843 it was resolved to give up the domestic establishment as it had never paid its expenses. Vice-Principal Thomas

Lowe also resigned at Easter 1844 and Browne would have gone too had not two new students turned up who now had to live in lodgings. There were no admissions in the autumn term. Of the three students on the college books, one was absent ill all term, another was elected Fellow of All Souls and did not return, which left just one student then in his second term. Only seven men entered the college in the two years 1844-45. <sup>68</sup>

The story of these opening years shows how insecure were the college's foundations and how dependent it was on the differing ideas and attitudes of the diocesan bishops. Here was a fundamental weakness. The smallness of the student body was not of itself a danger to the college's existence - some Oxbridge colleges were just as small. St Alban's Hall Oxford, for example, had only seven undergraduates in 1838, and at one stage under Dr Cardwell's principalship there had been only one! Also the short tenure of office by Marriott at the start cannot have helped people have confidence in the new institution.

Surprisingly, Bishop Gilbert had a change of heart; the college register records the events and decisions:

The Chichester Diocesan Theological College having suspended its operations from the time of the Rev Henry Browne's resignation of the office of Principal in November 1845, no steps were taken for its revival until the month of April following when the Rt Rev Ashurst Turner Gilbert DD, Lord Bishop of Chichester appointed the Rev Philip Freeman MA Fellow and Tutor of St Peter's College Cambridge to the office of Principal. His Lordship was at the same time pleased to express his interest in the prosperity of the College thus about to be revived under his auspices. [3 April 1846]

Some alterations in the Rules of the college (as subjoined) were proposed and sanctioned by the Bishop and Council. Assent was also given to proposals for providing an early service for the Students in



the Sub-deanery church, four mornings in the week, and for making use of the Cathedral library, formerly the Lady Chapel, for a lecture room, if desired.

Among the alterations to the Rules are chiefly to be noted the readjustment of the terms in such a manner as to comprehend the Ember Week at all four Seasons, Passion Week and Easter Day in the Lent Term: - (Rule 4)

the raising of the entrance Fee to £26, and of the additional term's fee to £5: - (Rule 7)

and the restriction (Rule 4 and note to Appendix) as to the admission of Literates.<sup>69</sup>

Lectures commenced on Monday 26 October with three Oxonians and one Cambridge man on the college books. There were now four terms a year. 1847 produced six new entrants, 1848 nine, of whom one was a graduate of Trinity College Dublin (Robert Le Marchant MA MD) and two were literates, 1849 saw six further admissions and nine more came in 1850. The college was now on a firmer footing.

It is conceivable, though we have no proof of it, that Manning, who was now Archdeacon of Chichester, influenced Bishop Gilbert in his decision to re-open the college and to appoint a Principal whose churchmanship was similar to that of his predecessors. Clerical education had remained a matter of deep concern to him - this can be seen from his correspondence with Bishop Phillpotts of Exeter in 1842 in which he argued the case for ordaining many more clergy and for a further four or five colleges 'in well chosen Cathedral cities' to train them in.<sup>70</sup> He returned to this theme in his charge to the clergy of his archdeaconry in 1846. He felt now that 'not less than 4,000 - probably 6,000 additional clergy are needed to provide pastoral care for our people.'<sup>71</sup> An academical education alone was insufficient, he



stated, 'a distinct and well conducted professional education' was also necessary.

What is required is not only a professional course of lectures but a collegiate life of spiritual discipline - an order of devotion wherein to subjugate ourselves and to unite our whole will with the great laws and realities of our Master's Cross and Kingdom. Exact theology is most necessary; but a life moulded upon a discipline higher than the academic rule is still more absolutely needed. The true school of pastors is, by divine institution, under the eye of the Episcopate. The Bishop's See is the seed-plot of the Church. In an institution for training clergy all the sanctions and associations must be ecclesiastical; every object should be emblematic not of the academy but of the altar; not of scholars but of apostles. This, however, would lead us into questions as to the proper form, site, and administration of such colleges, into which we have not time now to enter... For the raising of a body of faithful and devoted pastors, thoroughly furnished for Christ's work in perilous and darkening days, I believe I speak your common desire in expressing a fervent hope, that institutions wisely formed upon the highest model may be founded for the intellectual and spiritual discipline of those who shall be hereafter called to the priesthood of the Church.<sup>72</sup>

These remarks by Manning were penned only shortly after the Bishop had made his decision about the college's future. Another writer in that same year suggested other reasons which might explain Gilbert's change of mind:

A Diocesan College, e.g. such as that at Wells and that at Chichester, is a strictly clerical institution. And here I cannot help alluding with pleasure to the revival of the diocesan college at Chichester, which has recently been resolved on. Nobody can imagine that the Bishop of Chichester, connected as he is with the elder University, by long residence, high office, and a career of active duty, which he can look back upon with a just and well earned pleasure, can feel any temptation to interfere with academical privileges, or invade academical ground. If his Lordship has re-

established the theological institution in his diocese, it can only be because, in the exigencies of the Church, he thinks it his duty to look simply to her interests, at the expense, if necessary, of his own private feelings, and former official associations. It can only be, because having removed from the sphere of a college to that of a diocese, he remembers that he is henceforth a Bishop, and a head of a house no longer; because in that public field which he has now to superintend, his Lordship would act like a public man; take a wide and unbiassed view, and look simply to the state of things around him, and the Church's practical wants and necessities. His decision on such a subject is sure to be respected, and many will offer their prayers for the success of the Institution.<sup>73</sup>

What was happening at Chichester and Wells did not accord with the best hopes of the Archbishop of Canterbury. As noted earlier he expressed his fear of 'private Schools of Theology... in which peculiar systems of doctrine will be taught.'<sup>74</sup> Written in October 1840, this must be seen as a veiled criticism of the two colleges so recently founded for graduates. In November 1840, Newman wrote to Frederic Rogers, one of his closest friends and like himself a fellow of Oriel: 'Also I tell you as a deep secret, which I have not breathed to a soul, and which I hope Wm Rogers Esq, will not have the benefit of, that Cardwell has a plan before the Heads of Houses for introducing "Divinity Lectures in the University." Many things conspire; they are jealous of Durham and Chichester, and Wells, and I suppose would not be unwilling to put down our illegitimate influence.'<sup>75</sup>

Some years later when moves were afoot to found a similar college in the diocese of Lichfield, the examples of Chichester and Wells were quoted by the proponents of the scheme. Those opposed to it in that diocese published their case under a title which indicated all too



clearly how successful what Newman called his 'illegitimate influence' had been - The Tractarian Tendency of Diocesan Theological Colleges.<sup>76</sup> Otter stated in a letter to Julius Hare that his own sympathies did not lie 'in that quarter which would suggest he never knew of Newman's 'illegitimate influence' on Manning, the man he had trusted with his plan for the college.

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## WELLS DIOCESAN THEOLOGICAL COLLEGE

In the Diocese of Bath and Wells, our Theological College was indebted for its existence to the liberality of two distinguished individuals connected with the County and the Diocese, who tendered to their Bishop towards the first foundation of the College, each £100 a year for ten years. Under God, the College soon became self-supporting, or nearly so. But the above-mentioned gratuities were all-encouraging and invaluable at first. And to them, and to the Bishop's active lead and zealous cooperation, - not forgetting due thanks to our admirable Theological Professor, - are owing, under God, the existence and prosperity of the Institution.'

In 1844, James Law, Chancellor of the diocese of Lichfield and son of the Bishop of Bath and Wells, wrote a pamphlet on the subject of theological colleges which he was convinced were 'the fittest places for training Divinity Students.'<sup>2</sup> He entitled it A few Words respectfully addressed to the Bishops on the Preparation of Candidates for Holy Orders at the Universities and at the Diocesan Theological Colleges. 'We have, then, it seems established but few Theological Colleges because of the want of funds to endow and support them.'<sup>3</sup> He claimed that the bishops did not have the means to finance new projects in their dioceses and depended on the generosity and goodwill of others to provide the capital needed, hence his mention of the two unnamed benefactors at Wells. These were Archdeacon William Brymer and Mr Francis Henry Dickinson MP for West Somerset 1841-47.

Dickinson has left two accounts of the founding; the one is recorded in Elwes short history of the college who had heard it second hand from Bishop Gibson of Gloucester.<sup>4</sup> The other is an extant letter written by Dickinson in February 1890 to the Bishop of Bath and Wells, probably in



answer to an invitation to mark the golden jubilee of the college. He was then seventy-seven years old and had been seriously ill but his recollections of the events and people (apart from his error about the length of the closure of Chichester) can be substantiated from other sources:

Many thanks for your kind invite... Manning was really the author of our college. We copied his at Chichester. His had suspended animation for three or four years so that we are now really the oldest. He put it into Brymer's head and mine one day at Wells. Brymer said something about giving a £100 for a Theological library for the Diocese and...[illegible] went on, "But I would give £1,000 to put Pinder here with a college." I thought about it and a day or two after walked over to Charlton with my sister Sophie and told him that if he would give £100 a year for ten years I would do the same. We did so for about six and then as the college stood on its own better and we were neither of us so comfortable in our means as we had anticipated we left off. Ld J. Thynne and Acland gave I think £50 [?] a year each... Lord John Thynne's assistance and advice were of very great value.

The largest help came from James Law. I do not remember, I suppose, Brymer told him at once of our proposed ...[?], and then called the affair of the three ribs. What he spent I do not know. Assuming then he might have given the profits of the three ribs to his family, he gave us very largely indeed and besides that put the house and plan in order to unite and utilize the ribs. He must have given very much more than both of us together and should be considered the founder of the college.<sup>5</sup>

The 'ribs' referred to by Dickinson were houses which the Bishop had the power to grant to any prebendary whom he might desire to call into residence. <sup>6</sup> One of these was made available to Pinder as the residence of the Principal. The bishop was seventy-nine years old at the time and no longer the vigorous leader he had once been when he founded St Bees



Clerical Institution. Although his son and Dickinson paid tribute to his support for the scheme, as the latter stated it was really Chancellor Law acting on behalf of his father who became the driving force. In 1840 the bishop had made his son commissary for the diocese. Like his father, James had been involved in the founding of other educational establishments - in his case Queen's College Birmingham, of which he was made Honorary Warden in 1846. In his pamphlet of 1844 he had mentioned the lack of finance for diocesan enterprises and the need of voluntary contributions. Just how necessary these were in the early years of Wells can be seen from the college accounts 1842-52. (See Vol 2 Appendix 9 C) In 1842, the earliest year for which the accounts have survived, the income from the students' fees was just £168 whereas college expenditure, including the Principal's stipend, amounted to £419. 19s. 6d.

We shall examine the reasons for the college's success from the very beginning which may be summarised as follows:

1. The initial enthusiasm and continuing support of Chancellor Law, Archdeacon Brymer, and F.H. Dickinson.
2. The support of the diocesan bishop.
3. The availability of the essential buildings - a house for the Principal, a chapel for worship, a meeting place for lectures and a library.
4. The appointment of an excellent, experienced priest as the first Principal who stayed and gave the necessary continuity and stability to the institution in its early years.

Dickinson was an influential county man; born at Kingweston Somerset in 1813, educated at Westminster School and Trinity College Cambridge.

where he graduated BA and 5th wrangler in 1835. He was admitted to the Inner Temple in that same year and married a daughter of Major General Thomas Carey. He served as MP for West Somerset for six years and was appointed High Sheriff of Somerset in 1853.<sup>7</sup> He was a contributor to The Guardian from its start in 1846, a newspaper founded by the older Oxford Movement group, men such as R.W. Church, James Mozley and Frederic Rogers, who stayed in the Church of England after the defection of Newman and others in 1845. He collaborated with E.A. Freeman in 1854 in the writing of Suggestions with regard to certain Proposed Alterations in the University and Colleges at Oxford. In it he argued for the foundation of more new 'Diocesan Seminaries' rather than for university extension:

Such institutions would be more easily kept strictly to their proper use than new Colleges in the University, and it would be more easy to perpetuate simplicity of habits where there were no examples of more costly institutions side by side with them... It happens occasionally that those intended for Orders are not the best conducted in a College. It would be well if they could be made to feel that the Bishops were going to pick out from among them the very best; and this could only result from there being a very ample supply, to be gained rather by Diocesan seminaries than by University extension.

The mixture among the clergy of that kind of precise doctrinal drilling, possible in those seminaries, with the riper learning of some and the more liberal views of others educated in the University, would probably be very beneficial; and the peculiar defects of each system - visible I believe in the clergy of France and Germany respectively - would tend to neutralize each other in a very salutary way.<sup>8</sup>

Dickinson clearly felt that the experience of Wells since its foundation in 1840 had been good and had proved the rightness of such establishments and their value in countering some of the frequently



criticized weaknesses of university life as regards ordinands. A letter of Dickinson to Pinder dated September 1840 (See Vol 2 Appendix 9 A) shows that he took a close and active interest in how the college developed in its early days; his contribution to it was far more than financial.

William Thomas Parr Brymer was born in Halifax, Nova Scotia in 1796 and educated at Fulham Park School in London and Trinity College Cambridge where he graduated in 1823. He was instituted to the rectory of Charlton Mackrell in 1821, the advowson of which had been purchased by his father. Bishop Law nominated him to the 4th prebend in 1834, made him Archdeacon in 1839 and a Canon Residentiary in 1840, which offices he held until his death in 1852. The writer of his obituary notice in The Gentleman's Magazine suggested it was through his active support for new diocesan societies in the mid 1830s which

first brought this active and amiable clergyman into prominent position. Possessing ample means, he not only largely contributed to their funds but promoted their objects with great energy and influence. During the incapacity of the late Bishop Law, in addition to his ordinary functions as Archdeacon, he superintended the affairs of the entire diocese as the "special person" acting under the administrator of the diocese, the Bishop of Salisbury. A stained glass window in Wells from the clergy of the diocese was installed as a mark of gratitude to him for his services.<sup>9</sup>

The third member of the trio was also a Cambridge man. James Thomas Law was the bishop's eldest son and born at Carlisle in 1790 where his grandfather was bishop. He was educated at Carlisle Grammar School and at Christ's College where he graduated BA in 1812 and was a fellow from 1814-1817. He was ordained by his father in 1814 at Chester and was appointed to a succession of livings, sometimes held in plurality. In



addition he was a prebendary of Chester 1818-28, a prebendary also of Lichfield from 1818 and the Chancellor of Lichfield from 1828-73, and Vicar of Harborne, Staffordshire 1825-45. In 1820 he married Lady Henrietta Charlotte Grey, eldest daughter of the 6th Earl of Stamford and Warrington. 10

In his pamphlet of 1844, he expounded his views on theological colleges:

As the result of experience I have every reason strongly to advocate Diocesan Theological Colleges. But, it has been observed, at these Diocesan Colleges, Students may imbibe particular views, be they High Church, or be they Low Church. The more so as it is a fact, notorious, though lamentable, that our Church is disquieted and agitated by two powerful contending parties. Sorrowfully granting the fact and the inference; can it for one moment be maintained, that Cambridge and Oxford are free from this party warmth, these party prejudices! Has not Oxford more especially drawn towards itself universal notice! And if at Cambridge or Oxford particular views are, or should be, adopted, how can the young inexperienced Divinity Student well escape from the danger of the excitement! For I conclude he would not be permitted to apply for a Certificate to any but his own University.

Whereas, in the case of Diocesan Colleges, supposing each Diocese to have its College, the applicant, if he could obtain a Title for Orders in the Diocese he preferred, of which there would be a fair probability, might make his selection out of twenty-six Dioceses. So that, in case of danger to orthodoxy, the chances would be twenty-six to two in favour of Diocesan Colleges. Added to which, if erroneous doctrinal views should unhappily be imbibed at Cambridge or Oxford, the danger would be greater in proportion to the greater range, and ampler powers of concentration at the Universities.

Further, at Diocesan Colleges, the Bishops appoint the Theological professors. And who would not express a confident belief, that in such a case Bishops will be especially careful to select tried men of moderate views and matured judgement.

Diocesan Theological Professors located in the Cathedral City, are in immediate contact with their Bishop, and, preparing Candidates for his examination, naturally, as a matter of common prudence, are influenced by his wishes in all that relates to such preparation.

By which means the Bishop is able to become, - and by what other means can he be enabled, - well acquainted with the life and conversation of each Divinity Student. And thus the Bishop, whenever applied to by the beneficed Clergy of his Diocese, can select for them an appropriate Assistant. And the youthful Minister may thus be sent forth into such a position within the Diocese as is best fitted for his peculiar talents, and such as is most likely to call forth his energies, and make him useful and profitable to the Church, the Lord being his helper.

The difficulty is, that there are no public funds at the disposal of Bishops to found Diocesan Colleges, or for any other Church purposes.<sup>11</sup>

In his account of the foundation, Dickinson mentioned a fourth individual, namely Lord John Thynne who became a trustee of the college. He was the third son of the 2nd Marquis of Bath, born in 1798 and educated at Eton and St John's College Cambridge. Ordained Deacon and Priest in 1822, he held the living of Street in Somerset from 1823-50, the sinecure rectory of Backwell, Somerset 1832-72, was a Prebendary and Sub-Dean of Lincoln 1828-31, and Canon and Sub-Dean of Westminster 1836-81.<sup>12</sup> He was presumably invited to become a trustee because he was a local worthy who held high office in the Church and whose financial and other support could be expected. No publication of his survives which might indicate whether he had a particular concern about clergy training.

The second and third reasons for the college's success are linked. Bishop Law had been a very active and conscientious diocesan both at



Chester and after his translation to Bath and Wells. Unlike the institution at St Bees, the college at Wells was not his personal initiative but without his active support and generosity in the matter of housing the principal and his willingness to ordain the students to curacies in his diocese, such a college could not have been opened or have survived. Principal Pinder indicated in the college register that the bishop took a genuine interest in what was happening. He recorded on 6 July 1840 'the Professor and three Students waited, by appointment on the Bishop at the Palace, and received his Lordship's instructions and assurance of interest in the Institution.'<sup>13</sup> On Monday 3 August 1840, the college took in use the Vicar's Chapel in the Close for their early morning service:

The Professor performed the Service - and delivered a Discourse on our Saviour training his Apostles for the Ministry. The Bishop and his son Chancellor Law, Canons Barnard and Archdeacon Brymer and others were present. The Bishop before pronouncing the blessing gave a short and impressive exhortation.'<sup>14</sup>

At times students or deacons were admitted to attend lectures for a very short period prior to their ordination 'under special circumstances' or 'with permission' from the Bishop. In August 1840, the Bishop appointed Pinder Precentor of the cathedral and Prebendary of Litton, thereby giving him an increased status and mark of approval in the diocese. In 1841, Chancellor Law acting on behalf of his father assigned a room 'in the same building with the Depository of the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge' for the college's growing library.'<sup>15</sup>

All this financial and material support, however, would have been to little avail without the excellent services of the first principal,



John Hothersall Pinder. He was born in Barbados, West Indies in 1794 and educated at Charterhouse and Caius College Cambridge where he graduated BA in 1816. He was ordained by the Bishop of London in 1818 and returned to the Barbados where he was Chaplain at the Codrington Plantation 1818-27 and Principal of Codrington College 1830-1835. After his return to England, he served for a while as Curate of St Mary Lambeth 1837 and Principal of some almshouses styled 'Partis College' in Bath 1839.

Dickinson said the idea of the college was put forward by Manning during a visit he made at Kingweston. Exactly when this was we do not know though the earliest references to the college are Pinder's first outline of the college dated simply 1839 and in the letter Manning wrote to Bishop Otter at Chichester dated 10 January 1840 quoted earlier, 'Dr Pusey tells me that the Bishop of Bath and Wells is engaged in forming a Theological College, under Mr Pinder, who was in the West Indies. Three persons have subscribed each £100 a year for its support.'<sup>16</sup> Was the third contributor he had in mind Chancellor Law or Lord John Thynne?

If, as Dickinson said, Manning initiated the project with his suggestion, it seems strange that he should transmit the news to Otter in the way he did, remaining silent about his own involvement and implying it was all a matter of episcopal initiatives. He would have approved of Pinder's appointment for the latter was already claimed as a Tractarian sympathiser. Piers Brendon in his book Hurrell Froude and the Oxford Movement recounts how the young Froude used his spell in the West Indies in 1833-34 to spread the Tractarian gospel. He had gone there because of continuing ill-health. He sailed from Plymouth to

Barbados in November 1833 where the bishop, William Hart Coleridge, was a friend and admirer of Keble. The Bishop welcomed him and appointed him a temporary chaplain. From August 1834, Froude worked as a temporary mathematics teacher at Codrington College; in a letter to Newman from there he claimed he had won over Pinder to their cause. 'I have secured the Principal of Codrington College as an ally and he will be able to prejudice several of the clergy who have been through his hands.'<sup>17</sup>

Froude denominated Pinder 'an Apostolical', and something of this comes through in Pinder's first published sermon, preached in Christ Church Bath on 19 January 1836 at the anniversary of the Bath and Wells Diocesan Committee of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. The sermon was entitled Christ the Light of the World. 'Does it not appear, that the Apostles, on whom their Master breathed the Holy Ghost for consecration to their Office, were inspired to set apart the Deacons and Presbyters under the superintendence of a senior order, the lineal successors of the Apostles in the office of ordaining?... we regard the spiritual rulers of the Church as the direct recipients of transmitted authority, from the Lord, for the act of ordination.'<sup>18</sup>

In his sermon Pinder argued that if S.P.G. was to have an effective ministry, there was needed 'Apostolic Order' and 'Evangelical Truth'. Other evidence of his Tractarian sympathies is in a collection of published sermons which he preached at St Mary's Lambeth in 1837.<sup>19</sup> His dual emphasis on apostolic order and evangelical truth may explain why he succeeded in attracting men from both Oxford and Cambridge where opposing schools of churchmanship existed. We noted earlier how keen Brymer was to see Pinder set up with a college in Wells, presumably

because he wished to see the diocese benefit from Pinder's earlier experience at Codrington but also because they shared the same theological position. This can be seen from Brymer's published sermon delivered at the festival of the Sons of the Clergy in St Paul's Cathedral in 1840.<sup>20</sup>

Bishop Law adopted the same strategy for publicizing the college's existence at Wells as he had done for St Bees Clerical Institution in 1816, ie he invited the Principal-designate to preach at an Ordination prior to the college's opening. This Pinder did at the Ordination in Wells Cathedral on 19 January 1840. The sermon was subsequently printed with the title The Christian Ministry and it gave some indication of the style of training that students could expect from him:

Bear with me, my younger brethren in Christ, while I remind you that you are not entering into a profession (as it is sometimes termed) but that you are "called with an holy calling", as "ambassadors for Christ"; and henceforth pray that you be spiritually minded men of God, followers of the pattern of the Lord Jesus Christ. Live in the spirit of prayer. Never enter on your studies without prayer to the Fountain of all Wisdom. Approach the couch of the sick, and the school room, with prayer for a blessing of guidance.<sup>21</sup>

It was Pinder who determined the ethos of the new college. Various undated manuscripts in his handwriting have survived, among them is a First Outline of Wells Theological College 1839 which reads:

It is intended to open the Wells Theological College on May 1st to all graduates at the Universities desirous of preparing herein for ordination (with the Divine permission) - the Students will attend Morning and Evening prayers of the Church daily.

The Course of Study will consist of the Scriptures in the original. Selections from the early fathers and other standard Divines. The Evidences of Christianity. Ecclesiastical History in general and that of the C of E in particular with reference to Doctrine, Polity,



Liturgy, Articles and Canon - the differences between the C of E and other Churches and Denominations in these respects. Jewish Antiquity. Practical and Pastoral Theology. The Plan of Instruction will embrace, in addition to the Lectures of the professor, daily examination in some portion of the author in hand - as well as the interpretation and criticism of the Scriptures.

The time of lecturing will occupy daily not less than two hours. Sermons and plans of sermons are to be frequently prepared and read in Lecture room and submitted to Principal.

The Students will read the Lesson, at the time of divine service, and be exercised at other times in the portions of the Book of Common Prayer with a view to correct enunciation. The Students with permission and under the guidance of the parochial clergy will be led and visit the sick and aged in their houses.

The Students will be required to make themselves acquainted with the National system of education in the Wells diocesan Training School.

The time of residence will be not less than one twelve months, previously to Ordination.

The Students will provide for themselves in private lodgings.<sup>22</sup>

He also drafted a document headed Hints for the Statutes which envisaged four terms in the year, a fee of £25 and students residing in lodgings chosen by the principal. Students were to be graduates or 'such other persons, as shall, after due examination passed and Testimonials exhibited be recommended by the Principal to the Visitor.' How closely these draft outlines were put into effect can be seen from the opening pages of the College Record Book which Pinder kept. The entries for 1840 are quoted in full to give a comprehensive picture of college life in those early months.

May 1st 1840

The Wells Diocesan College was opened on 1st May 1840 - the names of three Students being previously entered. On May 4th Mr Foster came into residence. On 5th he took possession of his lodgings, which had been provided against his coming. On 6th May, at 9 o'clock after the

Collect "Prevent us etc", the Lord's Prayer being offered up as the daily opening of study - Lectures commenced with him in the Gospel of St John and the English Bible. Lectures continued generally for two hours from ½11 to ½1. On 10th June Lectures in the Acts of the Apostles Greek Text. On 24th June Mr D'Aguilar St John's College Cambridge was admitted, and proceeded on the same course as Foster. On June 28th Mr Milward of Wadham College Oxford was admitted. In addition to the usual Lectures, they began to send in a short daily exercise in Latin and a weekly Sermon, or sketch of one.

6th July, the Professor and three Students waited, by appointment on the Bishop at the Palace, and received his Lordship's instructions and assurance of interest in the Institution. The Professor and Students, from the first, attended the Cathedral Morning Service regularly - and unless interrupted, in the afternoon.

On July 10th, (the Rector, Canon Barnard, having selected some cases of sick persons) the two senior Students with the Professor visited these. They accompanied him also to the Sunday School regularly. On Saturday, instead of the Greek Text Ordinary Lecture, the Ordination Service was made the basis of a course of Pastoral and Parochial instruction.

On 13th July Rev J. Cox Deacon, Curate of Mense, was admitted (with permission) to attend twice in the week. Proceeded to Epistle to the Romans Greek Text.

On 29th July Mr Bedford, (Fellow of New College, Oxford) was admitted - being the 5th and was fixed in lodgings at Wiggins in the Close. On this day the Professor commenced a course on Ecclesiastical History in the Evening. To be continued every Wednesday and Friday after tea, at which the Students joined his family.

On 30th July, the Professor and Students spent the morning in the National School, examining Class after Class.

On Monday August 3rd the use of the Vicar's Chapel in the Close having been granted for early prayers daily at 7 the Professor performed the Service - and delivered a Discourse on our Saviour training his Apostles for the Ministry. the Bishop, and his son Chancellor Law, Canons Barnard and Archdeacon Brymer and others were present. The Bishop before pronouncing the blessing gave a short and

impressive exhortation. the Students appeared for the first time in the College Cap and Bachelor's Gown and Hood, the one reading the Lessons, in Surplice and Hood.

3rd August. Lecture was held in the Vicar's Hall for the first time. Thursday 6th August Mr Madison, admitted under special circumstances, joined the Class. The subjects at this time being the Epistles in the Greek Text and Articles of the Church. the College now consisted of six.

On 15th August the Professor entered his house near the Cathedral assigned to him through the kindness of the Bishop of Bath and Wells.

21st August Lectures on first five chapters of Epistle to the Hebrews Greek Text, the Articles and examination in St Luke's Gospel.

25th August The professor was installed as Precentor of the Cathedral and Prebendary of Litton.

28th August Mr Burrow was admitted. On 31st August Mr Reeve was allowed to attend the Lectures in the interval before the Ordination. Eight students were attending Lectures. In addition to the Pastoral Lecture, the Students, on Saturday, were required to read aloud, in order to a correct elocution.

On 7th September Mr Pedder was admitted, making the number of Students nine. Lectures at this time on 1 Epistle to Corinthians. Bishop Beveridge on Articles and daily examination in some part of the Gospels. Bishop Pearson on the Creed was substituted for Bishop Beveridge when that subject was finished. 10th September Mr Scott was admitted and the number thus increased to Ten. On Sunday 20th September Milward, Madison, Reeve and Cox having passed their examination satisfactorily, were ordained - the latter, Priest, the three former Deacons. On September 23rd Mr Burrowes of Trinity College Dublin was admitted. The Bishop of Winchester paid a visit to the College and attended the early morning Service.

On 9th October, the Professor went with Mr Burrow to visit four sick persons placed under his charge.

Since the opening of the Vicar's Chapel, Lecture was daily from 11 to 1, and still on Wednesday and Friday an evening lecture which was on the subject of the History of the Church of England, the former course being finished.



22nd October the darkness of the morning compelled the change of hour from 7 to 8. It should be noted that on Saints days the Professor and Students attended the Cathedral always.

On 27th November Mr Hopkins of Corpus Cambridge was admitted.

On 28th November Mr Penny Queen's College Oxford was admitted.

On 30th November Mr Browne, Wadham College Oxford was admitted.

On 2nd December Mr C. Penny was allowed to attend Lectures during the interval before the Ordination.

A Class, consisting of Penny, Browne, Burrow, Pedder and Foster was encouraged in their Hebrew Studies and an extra hour from ½9 to ½10 in the morning was, as opportunity served, devoted to this study. A change was also made, by the addition of a chapter in the Septuagint on Saturday, and the morning of Friday devoted to the Apostolic Fathers in the original. The first Epistle of St Clement and that of St Ignatius to the Trallians have been thus completed. (Monday is the day appointed for receiving the Sermons and Latin exercises which are returned on the following Monday, with remarks and sometimes form the subject of a conversation.)

On Saturday 11th December Mr Master of University College was admitted. Previously to the Ordination, Burrow, D'Aguilar and Penny Jr were several times tried in some preparatory examination. The subjects during the latter part of this term have been the Acts of the Apostles and examination in Diatessaron with Mr Gray on the Old Testament - Friday Patres Apostolici - Saturday Septuagint - exercise in reading aloud and exhortation on the Pastoral Office from the Ordination services. On Wednesday December 16th the Evening Lecture on the History of the Church of England was brought to a conclusion.

On Thursday, Friday and Saturday, before the closing of the Term each of the Students was separately examined and conferred with by the Professor.

On Sunday December 20th D'Aguilar, Burrow and Penny Jr were ordained.<sup>23</sup>

The new term opened on Monday 18 January 1841 with eight students present, and closed on Monday 7 June, and the second term that year ran

from 20 July to 20 December. Pinder attempted the experiment of 'a temporary hall' to which all the students submitted but it was dissolved after Easter 'according to my wish of their dwelling apart' though all of them lived in the Vicar's Close. Pinder produced a set of Hall Rules for this short lived experiment. (See Vol 2 Appendix 9 B) The second term saw the first recorded need of disciplinary action on the part of the principal. He wrote in the College Record Book, 'Two of the Students have been publicly reproved for being out at a late public supper and putting out lamps in the street.' 1841 also saw the provision of a College Library 'commenced and augmented by a considerable donation from Bath. And the Rev Chancellor Law has assigned for the use of the College, a room in the same building with the Depository of the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge wherein to place our books.'<sup>24</sup>

These extracts from the earliest pages of the College Record Book not only illustrate how the institution developed, they also suggest reasons why Wells flourished in comparison to Chichester. The title Pinder used to describe himself 'the Professor' (the 1841 Clergy List names him Professor of Theology) indicates the main one. He was an altogether more mature and experienced teacher than was Charles Marriott, and he had both a clear idea of the kind of training institution he wished to create and the ability to make it a reality. He had a clear picture of the 'ideal' Christian minister and expounded it accordingly, as we shall see. He got through a considerable body of studies with his students - in the first term, six books of the NT in the original Greek, Latin exercises, a weekly sermon or sketch of one, some Church History, the XXXIX Articles, the Creed, some Patristic

studies, a course of parochial and pastoral instruction based on the Ordinal, practical exercises in elocution, sick visiting and school work, and for those wanting it, extra tuition in Hebrew! Added to this in the second term were studies in five books of the NT, Paley's Evidences and Hooker's 5th Book and Preface; and always there was the sharing in the daily round of worship, fostering personal discipline in prayer. An information leaflet published in about 1847 for prospective students (See Vol 2 Appendix 9 D) shows how the college curriculum settled down.

Pinder was a priest as well as a professor. In 1837, while serving as the curate of St Mary Lambeth, he published a collection of lectures originally delivered to the students of Codrington College on the Sundays immediately after the opening of that institution in 1830. Pinder was its first Principal from 1830-35 during which time he prepared twenty-five men for the ordained ministry. He called his book The Candidate for the Ministry: A Course of Expository Lectures on 1st Epistle of Paul the Apostle to Timothy. In the first lecture, Pinder described what he expected of his students and what he desired for them:

We are come to dwell at this college, professedly, for the purpose of studying God's Word: not only that we may save our own souls, but in due time that ye may hold forth the light of revelation to others...It behoves us, not only to become holy ourselves, but eventually to be examples of holiness unto others, over whom the Pastoral care shall be confided. Ye are not only at this place, to study how to arrive safely, yourselves at the gates of heaven, but to learn how to guide others in the right way.' He then went on to describe this 'holy character' which a minister should have.<sup>25</sup>

He returned to this theme in a book of Meditations and Prayers on the



Ordination Service for Deacons which he published in 1853 and dedicated to his Wells students.

Diligence as a Student, and zeal as a Pastor, and faith as a Christian, must go together to make a man of God. He will, no doubt, visit more efficiently in his parish, who comes forth from his oratory, and his study before God, stored with knowledge and holy meditation. And he will be the most successful student, who practically enters into the wants and feelings of his people, and seeks to supply their necessities from the accumulated treasures of departed saints, and able divines. Shall I not more easily combat error, when, by the light of Ecclesiastical History, I am reminded, when this and that particular form of error appeared before, and how it was refuted?...The Minister of Christ must spend more time in prayer. Others may relieve the poor; he must "take care" of them. Others may show themselves their brethren, he must be their father. They must pray frequently and fervently; but he must give himself up to the Word of God, and to prayer.<sup>26</sup>

It was this kind of personal self-discipline in prayer which Pinder tried to encourage in his students by insisting on daily attendance at public worship.

By the end of 1850, 213 students had matriculated at Wells, about a quarter of them graduates of Cambridge, with a single Dublin man, one non-graduate and all the rest were Oxonians. It rapidly gained the reputation of being a Tractarian college. James Bateman held it up as a warning to those who wished to found a diocesan college in Lichfield! The college's success meant more staff were needed; already in 1842 a Vice-Principal was appointed. He was a graduate of Balliol and a former student of Wells, the Rev Wilson Pedder MA who stayed in that post for five years. He was succeeded by the Rev C.E. Prichard MA, fellow of Balliol, who stayed for just one year but returned for a second spell

1852-54. The Rev E. Huxtable served as Vice-Principal from 1848-61. In 1846 there was also a 'Voluntary Lecturer' in the person of the Rev J. Lonsdale, fellow of Balliol, who was a son of the Bishop of Lichfield.

When Pinder retired after twenty-five years service in 1865, a memorial fund raised £2,500 which was eventually used to buy four houses in Vicar's Close as student residences. C.M. Church, a former student of Wells and then its Principal, commenting on Pinder's achievements, said of him:

The experience of a Theological College at the time when it was started was not promising. There was no precedent to guide, no previous success on the part of others to encourage, and the design was at first received with much distrust and misgivings, which was not altogether unreasonable.

But under Mr Pinder's directions and influence the institution at Wells steadily and uninterruptedly prospered, and after 25 years it was possible to look back at an amount of service done by which it would have been very sanguine to have anticipated for it at its starting.<sup>27</sup>

F.H. Dickinson, Archdeacon Brymer, Chancellor Law and his father, the Bishop of Bath and Wells, made the college possible; Canon Pinder made it a successful reality.

They did not succeed, however, in associating the college formally or in practice with the cathedral chapter in the manner that Pusey in his 1833 pamphlet and others had hoped for. Dickinson had expressed just such a hope in a letter to Pinder in 1840 but it did not happen. Indeed in 1854, Pinder's fellow canons made it clear to HM Commissioners looking into the state of cathedrals and collegiate churches that the chapter and college were not connected and furthermore they opposed the widespread foundation of other colleges! This was probably because the

Dean of Wells appointed in 1845 after the college was founded was Dr Richard Jenkyns, Master of Balliol, who was decidedly anti-Tractarian and not at all in favour of diocesan colleges. In evidence to the Oxford University Commissioners he wrote: 'If theological colleges, in connection with cathedral churches, were to be generally established throughout the kingdom, the effect, so far from being desirable, would in my judgement, check the advance of theological knowledge, and inflict a serious injury on the Church of England and the Universities.'<sup>20</sup> It cannot have pleased him to have had on his doorstep such a strong, successful theological college whose principal was a member of his chapter!

#### NOTES

- 1 J.H. Law            A few Words respectfully addressed to the Bishops  
on the Preparation of Candidates for Holy Orders, pp.10-11
- 2 *ibid*                p.14
- 3 *ibid*                p.10
- 4 E.L. Elwes        The History of Wells Theological College, p.2
- 5 Wells Theological College Archives in Wiltshire County Record Office
- 6 E.L. Elwes        *op cit*, p.6
- 7 J.A. Venn        Alumni Cantabrigienses Part II 1752-1900,
- 8 F.H. Dickinson and E.A. Freeman Suggestions with regard to certain  
Proposed Alterations in the University and Colleges at  
Oxford, pp.121-122
- 9 Gentleman's Magazine 1852 II p.544
- 10 J.A. Venn        *op cit*,
- 11 J.H. Law        *op cit*, pp.7-9
- 12 J.A. Venn        *op cit*,
- 13 WTC Archives College Record Book WTC/R/1
- 14 *ibid*
- 15 *ibid*
- 16 Otter Papers     Manning to Otter 10 Jan 1840
- 17 P. Brendon      Hurrell Froude and the Oxford Movement, p.153



- 18 J.H. Pinder Christ the Light of the World, p.12
- 19 J.H. Pinder Sermons on the Book of Common Prayer,
- 20 W.T.P. Brymer The Ministry of the Church of England, A Sermon,
- 21 J.H. Pinder The Christian Ministry, p.16
- 22 WTC Archives WTC/R/1
- 23 ibid
- 24 ibid
- 25 J.H. Pinder The Candidate for the Ministry, pp.13-14
- 26 J.H. Pinder Meditations and Prayers on the Ordination Service for  
Deacons, pp.18-20
- 27 C.M. Church proof copy of *The First day at Wells Theological College* in  
WTC Archives,
- 28 P.P. 1854 Vol 25 Report of HM Commissioners into the state of Cathedral  
and Collegiate Churches, pp.105 and 603

## ST AIDAN'S THEOLOGICAL COLLEGE, BIRKENHEAD

Few former hamlets in England can boast the dramatic growth experienced by Birkenhead on the Wirral peninsula in the last century. Within thirty years it was transformed from being a tiny health resort into a booming industrial town and well on its way to becoming a major city. The census figures record this rapid expansion:

1821	1831	1841	1851
200	2,569	8,223	24,285

The primary cause of this sudden development was the coming of steam powered vessels to the tidal waters of the River Mersey. The first one came in 1815; two years later a steam paddle boat, the *Etna*, began a regular service across the three quarters of a mile of deep tidal waters which separated the beautiful, forested countryside of the Wirral from the port of Liverpool. Its wealthier citizens could now migrate from that crowded, unhealthy city and still commute quickly each day to their businesses in the nation's largest port.' Soon there was a steam packet service every half hour from 5 am to 10 pm each day.

The lord of the manor, Francis Richard Price, sold plots of land for the villas of the Liverpool merchants and developed some of the property himself. To meet the spiritual needs of the new residents, he built a church at his own expense close by the ruined Norman priory of Birkenhead, the first stone being laid by Lord Kenyon on 19 July 1819. Three years later the church, dedicated to St Mary, was consecrated and shortly afterwards the Rev Andrew Knox BA, a graduate of Trinity College Dublin, who had been ordained priest in 1821, became its incumbent.

Henry K. Aspinall, later to become one of the Birkenhead Improvement Commissioners, has described what a beautiful place it was at this time:

On moving from Liverpool, my father took up his abode in a very pretty house near the river, on the site where Lairds' shipbuilding-yard now stands. Fronting the house, a large grass field sloped down to the river side. Here the Hooton fox-hounds met twice each season; and the hunt breakfasted at my father's house... There were no shops in early Birkenhead. I remember my mother used to go to Liverpool to do her shopping. I recollect being sent to the ferry to say my mother would be down in a few minutes, would they please detain the boat for her; which they did.<sup>2</sup>

Another early colonizer was a Scottish engineer, William Laird, who had been in business in Liverpool since 1810. He bought up land near the ferry with the intention of creating an exclusive residential area for successful businessmen like himself. He employed an Edinburgh architect, J.G. Graham, to plan his elegant suburb of stately mansions and broad streets where previously there had been green fields. His one great building achievement before funds ran out was Hamilton Square, so named after Laird's mother. The square was just three minutes walk from the ferry and a gazeteer said of it in 1847 that it contained 'the residences of the aristocracy of Birkenhead.'<sup>3</sup> Among them, at No 30, lived the Rev Joseph Baylee BA, the founder of St Aidan's Theological College.

William Laird developed land in other ways. He bought some cheaply on the edge of Wallasey Pool, a natural inlet a mile wide at its mouth and extending two miles inland, where he established a boiler and iron works which later became a shipyard building the world's first iron ships. In 1834, his eldest son, John Laird, built the first iron



steamboat for America, the *John Randolph* of 250 tons. Soon other industries followed and with them the need for better land communications. Roads were improved and work began in 1838 on the first railway from Birkenhead to Chester which was planned by George Stephenson. It took two years to complete; in 1839 soldiers had to put down the riots by English and Irish labourers constructing the railway. The 1841 census return shows that only 2,752 out of Birkenhead's 8,223 residents had been born in the County of Chester, and already there were large colonies of Welsh, Irish and Scots in the new town. In 1844 the first stones of Birkenhead docks were laid and about a thousand labourers were employed on this work with a similar number working on the creation of Britain's first public park.

In 1833 a group of residents successfully petitioned Parliament and the royal assent was given to 'An Act for paving, lighting, watching, cleansing, and otherwise improving the Township or Chapelry of Birkenhead, in the County Palatine of Chester, and for regulating the Police thereof, and for establishing a market.' To effect these measures the Act allowed for the appointment of a Board of Improvement Commissioners; a second Improvement Act was passed in June 1838. In 1841 Birkenhead and Claughton Gas and Water Works were incorporated by Act of Parliament and this was followed in 1843 by an Act authorising the Commissioners to purchase some 226 acres of waste swamp land on the Claughton side of town to form a park and cemetery. The actual park, when completed, covered 180 acres and cost £120,000 to create. It was planned by Sir Joseph Paxton, the celebrated landscape gardener to the Duke of Devonshire, who a few years later designed the Crystal Palace. The park together with the first two docks were opened on Easter Monday

1847.

Church building kept pace with all this urban and industrial development. In 1837 work was begun on a second Anglican church which was licensed for worship by the Bishop of Chester on 29 October 1840. The Rev Andrew Knox had been given the right of presentation by the builders and he nominated the Rev Joseph Baylee, a fellow graduate of TCD, as the first incumbent. Baylee's initial licence was as Stipendiary Curate of Birkenhead with a stipend of £250 p.a. from 3 November 1840. Part of St Mary's parish was formally assigned on 17 November 1841 as the district of Holy Trinity Church, and on 3 January 1842 Baylee was licensed to the 'Perpetual Curacy of Holy Trinity Birkenhead.'<sup>4</sup> The two churches were still insufficient for the needs of the rapidly growing town and in 1845 work began on St John's Church. A Wesleyan Methodist Chapel was erected by public subscription in 1830 and a second one was begun in 1847. There were various other chapels for dissenters, including one for Welsh Methodists and another for Welsh Independents, a large Scottish kirk opened in 1840 and there was a Roman Catholic chapel. W.W. Mortimer, a local historian, said the latter building seated a thousand people but services had to be repeated as there were an estimated 5,000 Catholics in the town.<sup>5</sup> Almost all the churches had day or Sunday schools attached; in 1845 Trinity Church had 120 boys, 130 girls and 90 infants in its three schools. All the Christian denominations were trying to meet the spiritual and educational needs of the rising population and no one was more active in this than the Rev Joseph Baylee.

Chambers Edinburgh Journal published a long, descriptive article about this new town in May 1845 which catches the atmosphere of an



expanding, frontier settlement: 'Landing from one of the steamers, which cross the Mersey every half hour, we walk into this City of the Future with expectations which the reality by no means disappointed. When we had passed a mere frontier of short streets overlooking the river, we were at once launched into a mile's breadth of street buildings, where unfinished houses, unmade roadways, brickfields, scaffolding, heaps of mortar, loaded wains, and troops of busy workmen meet the eye in every direction... Where houses were occupied or shops opened, they had all a peculiarly fresh sparkling look, like furniture in an upholsterer's wareroom as compared with that in private dwellings. The very children playing or walking in the streets looked old beside them. In some streets, traceable as such by buildings posted here and there along a line, the substratum of the roadway was only in the course of being formed... You ask for public buildings and find they are all in the masons' hands, excepting a few churches. There is to be a capital town-hall - a capital market - a capital everything...'

To mark the opening of the docks and warehouses and the park, the first Guide to Birkenhead was published and understandably the writers waxed lyrical about all that had taken place in so short a time:

What has been and is being accomplished? Wastes of land are become priceless in value! Where no sound was to be heard, now the air reverberates with the stroke of the hammer and the clank of the anvil - where no firm spot on which to rest the foot could be obtained, now there are roads the Romans might have envied - where no thatched-roof cot was reared, now thronged streets and lordly mansions - gay gardens and lofty spires meet and glad the eye. A locality known but a few short years ago to the denizens of the opposite shore of the river as a holiday retreat is become world-renowned - the recipient of the apprentice's half-pence is an acknowledged emporium of commerce - upon the flat sandy shores have risen walls of granite,



enclosing spacious harbours for forests of masts and the wealth of either Indies. Old men lift up their eyes in wonder, young men look forward and hope. The barren has been made fertile - multitudes are sustained where it was supposed beasts could not exist.'<sup>6</sup>

The Guide also noted that a theological college had been established during that same year, 1847, under the patronage of the Lord Bishop of Chester with the Rev Joseph Baylee as Principal, and the pious hope was expressed that 'this new College may enjoy its deserved share in this prosperity which Birkenhead appears destined to reap so largely.'<sup>7</sup>

Joseph Baylee was the son of a Limerick schoolmaster who entered Trinity College Dublin in 1828 at the age of twenty-one. On his application form where most students recorded their teachers' names or their schools, he wrote 'self-educated'. He graduated in Arts in 1834, a necessary requirement since 1790 for ordination by the Irish bishops, who also required candidates to have attended one year's theological lectures. In 1830 the Theological Society was founded there, and in 1833 the Divinity School course was reconstructed and a systematic course of two years study was laid down for all students of theology. Soon it was boasted that the Divinity School of Trinity College Dublin was second to none in the United Kingdom.<sup>8</sup> Baylee, who was to become a formidable polemicist and able teacher of theology, appears to have had the benefit of these reforms. In 1832 while still a student, he married Matilda, daughter of Major E. Collis of Limerick. After ordination Baylee and his family went to work at a missionary settlement on the island of Achill off the north west coast of Ireland, established in July 1834 by the Rev Edward Nangle. The wife of the mission doctor described what life was like in the early days when there were just two houses:

The Revd Joseph Baylee lived in one of the houses with his wife and two children. Two of their rooms were used as a printing office. Two Scripture-readers lived with them and another worker together with his wife and six children!<sup>9</sup>

The Sunday School and the church all met in their parlour. His own experience of living in cramped conditions among very poor people must have fostered in him the concern he was to show later for the slum dwellers of Liverpool.

In 1840 he moved to Birkenhead and was assisted initially by another Irishman, the Rev Charles Maginess, albeit without the Bishop's licence. Birkenhead's first Directory, published in 1843, credited him then with two curates and a scripture reader; one of the curates was the Rev J.C. Power, a graduate of Queen's College Cambridge, who had been made Deacon in Chester cathedral on 18 December 1842 and received £90 a year from Baylee as a stipend.

With people flocking to the town from all parts of the kingdom in search of work and prosperity, there were inevitably social problems including the inadequacy of health care. Baylee at once joined the Rev Andrew Knox and his curate on the committee of the Birkenhead Dispensary which provided some medical care for the poor. The scale of its work may be seen from the published statistics for 1845 - 2,723 patients were advised and 224 were admitted into hospital, but its work was dependent on the financial support of the better-off citizens and on several occasions the dispensary was in disgraceful difficulties for want of funds. This provoked some sharply critical comments from a contemporary writer, Hugh Gawthrop, about the residents: 'Birkenhead is a new town - everyone who locates himself here is adventurous. Most of



the inhabitants are merely trying the experiment whether it is possible to make a living in the place. Few feel that security of position which enables a man to look beyond the care of himself and his family, - hence, there is little independence, little spirit, and little generosity. This evil will be cured as the town becomes more settled, and men feel better assured of their own destiny. fraternal charity and a liberal spirit may then be known, to a greater degree, among the people of Birkenhead.'<sup>10</sup>

Soon after his arrival in the town, Baylee sought to meet the spiritual needs of the large number of Welsh workers who had settled in his district and he even taught himself Welsh in order to be able to minister to them personally. On 28 January 1845 Bishop Sumner licensed a schoolroom for divine service 'on the West Side of Trinity Street under the pastoral superintendence of the Rev Joseph Baylee Clerk'.<sup>11</sup> Six months later, William Evans Jones was made Deacon in Durham cathedral and licensed as curate of Holy Trinity Birkenhead at £90 p.a., and given responsibility for the Welsh speaking community in the parish. Mortimer mentioned this special care that Baylee showed for the Welsh immigrants: 'and now, in addition to the usual morning and evening duties, performs Divine Service twice every Sunday in the Welsh tongue, for the benefit of the natives of the Principality. In addition to five services each Sunday, there are two weekday services at this Church; where all the Fasts and Festivals are also solemnized according to the Liturgy.'<sup>12</sup>

In the first decade of his incumbency, Baylee initiated numerous projects for the benefit of his parishioners. District visiting was organized, meetings for female servants arranged, Saturday Bible



Classes were well attended, separate meetings for the Gentleman Teachers and Lady Teachers connected with the Sunday School, missionary meetings and a monthly working party for ladies to make useful articles to send out to missionaries, a lending library established, a church institute set up as a meeting place, a Christian Young Men's Association formed, a Dorcas Society to provide charity, a Ragged School set up and supported financially, material help given to widows and orphans and the poor in the form of blankets, sheets, bread, coal and money. There was even a monthly breakfast meeting at which parishioners could share their ideas about parish life and make complaints, for example, if they felt too many collections were being made at church! Various funds were established - a Mendicity Fund, a Provident Fund, and an Emigrants Committee cared for thousands of female emigrants, providing work for some, visiting them on board before departure etc. He also devised a scheme to provide some industrial training for children who had been deserted or neglected by their parents.<sup>13</sup>

Baylee worked hard to meet the spiritual, educational and material needs of his own parishioners but he could never forget the far worse situation which lay across the Mersey in the slums of Liverpool, many of whose inhabitants came from his native Ireland. His concern for them resulted in the founding of the Liverpool Parochial Assistant Association whose members were also students of St Aidan's Theological College in Birkenhead. Strangely, the exemplar for his students was a Unitarian minister, the Rev John Johns, who visited and ministered in the slums for ten years before the first St Aidan's men took the ferry across the river on their thrice weekly visits. In 1837 the Unitarian

churches in Liverpool set up a Domestic Mission and appointed the saintly Johns from Devon to be their missionary and he held this office until his death on 6 July 1847. The inclusion of the word 'Domestic' in the title indicated that the poor and unchurched were to be visited in their own homes. He did exactly that keeping a careful record of his visits and quoting them by way of illustration in his annual reports. He quickly evolved the principle from his own experience that 'the most precious good that can be done for the poor is that which you can induce them to do for themselves.'<sup>14</sup>

His first report, dated 6 September 1837, was in the nature of a survey; this extract can serve to illustrate the conditions he had met on his visits:

Mothers, newly become such, without a garment on their persons, and with infants nearly as naked, lying upon straw or shavings, under a miserable covering, without fire or food, or the means of procuring them; children taken from their schools, in order to earn by begging, or by something but one degree above it, a few halfpence worth of bread for themselves and their parents; men in the prime of life, lounging at noonday across their beds, unable to procure work, and dependent upon the charity of their fellow-poor for subsistence; mothers of families only able to provide necessaries for their children, by pawning their little all, or by incurring debts wherever they could be trusted; persons in fevers, whose recovery was prevented and whose weakness was prolonged, by the want of all that promotes convalescence; and infirm and aged people, who were shivering out the last hours of life in absolute want of every thing that could sustain or endear it.<sup>15</sup>

It was the failure of the Established Church to minister effectively to the poor and destitute of Liverpool which had caused the Rev J.H. Thom, the twenty-seven year old minister of Renshaw Street Chapel, to



plead the case for establishing a Domestic Mission. In a sermon on Christmas Day 1835, he declared bluntly about the Church of England - 'The poor do not come to it.'<sup>16</sup> Baylee was a sharp critic of Unitarian theology but he could not have been unaware of the remarkable missionary zeal and loving care for the destitute shown by their missionary or of his annual reports describing the expanding work of the mission. John Johns was in high measure what Baylee would encourage his students to become. The Evangelical principal could have happily echoed these words of Johns written for the Christian Tract Society, 'I take my station under the Cross of Christ and I will not allow that any mortal has power to say that I have no right to seek shelter and redemption there. The Cross was lifted up for all to look upon it and live. Who shall make partial what God has made universal?''<sup>17</sup> It was Baylee's missionary concern for all the residents of Liverpool which pushed him into founding a training institution.

We have various accounts of the college's origins from the founder's own pen, and each of them makes mention of the needs of Liverpool, 'St Aidan's College originated in an earnest desire to assist in providing for the pastoral wants of Liverpool, and for the generally felt need of an additional provision for the education of suitable persons for the ministry of the Church. It was felt by many that a practical training for the pastoral ministry combined with a more thorough theological education, was greatly needed; and that there is a large class of persons who from various causes are without a university education, who yet would make very valuable Ministers of Christ.''<sup>17</sup> Among the 'many' Baylee may have had in mind in 1846 were the letters of 'Clericus' in the Guardian and Henry Kingscote's A Letter to his Grace... on the



present Wants of the Church. Kingscote later became a member of the College Council.

In his primary visitation charge of 1829, Bishop John Bird Sumner of Chester had suggested ways in which populous districts might still be reached with the Gospel even though there were few clergy. By means of his college, Baylee put into practice what his bishop had outlined in that charge about 'catechetical and personal instruction' and 'District Visiting Associations':

Let the minister of a populous district, using careful discrimination of character, select such as "are worthy", and "of good report", and assign them their several employments under his direction: they may lessen his labour by visiting and examining in the schools, by reading and praying with the infirm and aged, by consoling the fatherless and widows in their affliction, and pursuing the many nameless ways by which it is in the power of one Christian to benefit and relieve another... Nor is this any visionary notion, pleasing in idea, but impracticable in reality. Numerous parishes of different degrees of population, have been brought under such discipline with more or less success. And I feel convinced that whoever is anxious to promote the glory of God, to assist the most important interests of his fellow creatures, to confirm the security of his country, or maintain the stability of his Church, can ensure none of these great objects more effectively than by means like these. Without them, to some of our crowded districts of dense and extended population, the Church is lost sight of, parochial distinctions are obliterated, and the reciprocal charities and duties of the pastor and the flock are forgotten by the people, because it is physically impossible that they should be satisfactorily discharged.'<sup>9</sup>

In his tri-ennial charge of 1832, the Bishop reported that his recommendations had been taken up in some places with success. 'In the first year of its trial in the town of Lancaster, it had the effect of introducing more than a hundred children to the schools which were

numerous before, and of bringing seventy-nine persons to a regular attendance upon public worship, who had hitherto been "living without God in the world". In the succeeding year eighty-one more persons were reclaimed by the like means, and an hundred and eighteen fresh scholars united to the schools.'<sup>20</sup>

Baylee claimed he had wanted to put the Bishop's suggestions into practice when he first came to Merseyside in 1840 but had to wait six years:

When I came to Birkenhead, I was in a great measure an unknown and unintroduced stranger if not entirely unknown, and entirely unintroduced, at least with so few personal friends, and so little personal influence, in this place, as to be utterly inadequate to such a work as that which we can see around us today. I came to the neighbourhood of a large city, in which there were 300,000 baptised members of the Church of England, with only about 100 clergymen to attend to them; and I can sympathise with my friend, Mr Campbell, when he asks "what are they among so many?" This, as I have said, was sixteen years ago - in the year 1840. For six years did I labour to bring the subject of this sad deficiency before my clerical and lay brethren, and I must say that the first clergyman whom I found willing to undertake what appeared to be a hopeless task was Mr Campbell, the rector of Liverpool. It seemed, at first, a very wild speculation, to provide for wants so vast, so overwhelming, as to be almost immeasurable. However, I determined to make the attempt, and I called upon the present Archbishop of Canterbury, who was then my diocesan. He was under the impression that I could not succeed, but he also thought that it would be a pity not to give me a chance of seeing what could be done, and in the year 1846 I got his permission to begin. I am not ashamed to say that I had not £5 with which to make my commencement, for, as I have not a mercantile character to maintain, I may proclaim my poverty without fear. The bishop of the diocese gave me his patronage, and promised to ordain such young men as I might present to him from time to time, efficiently and



adequately instructed; and so we set about our work.<sup>21</sup>

The means that Baylee used to bring his theological college into being was a variation on Bishop Sumner's suggested district visiting associations. He called it the Liverpool Parochial Assistant Association. What Sumner had proposed was a form of lay ministry; Baylee's variant was to use laymen in training for the ordained ministry. His first report on the Association is extant (See Vol 2 Appendix 10 A); the meeting was held in the Bold Street Savings Bank, Liverpool on 13 February 1848 under the chairmanship of Archdeacon Brooks who was also a rector of Liverpool with fifteen other clergy present. In his report Baylee reminded them of the situation in their city - its enormous pastoral needs and the shortage of clergymen and lay assistants:

Under these circumstances, the plan of the Parochial Assistant Association was presented to the Rectors of Liverpool, by whom it was cordially approved and valuably modified. It was then submitted to a Meeting of the Clergy, on the 30th of November, 1846, and finally adopted by them on the 14th December following. Its operation is very simple. It consists in employing young men, of approved qualifications and character, as Parochial Assistants to the respective Incumbents of Churches, while they receive, at the same time, a Theological Education at the Birkenhead College.

The Rectors of Liverpool did me the favour of presenting my name to the Bishop of the Diocese, as the person whom they would recommend to His Lordship as the Theological Professor to the Association and I felt grateful for the kind manner in which he entrusted me with so responsible a charge.

On personal grounds I had many urgent reasons for declining the office. I had already the charge of 8,000 souls, and other cares. The pecuniary responsibilities of founding a suitable College were far beyond any means apparently at my command, and there were no available public funds... After much hesitation I accepted the



office, upon the conditions that the Clergy would provide me the salary of a Curate to make up to my district for the withdrawal of so large a portion of my personal pastoral care.

From December 1846, to June 1847, I was incessantly engaged in the arduous task of arranging everything connected with founding the College, which I have now the satisfaction of seeing successfully at work, and increasing daily in usefulness... On the 24th of June, 1847, the College was opened with ten Students. It consists of five large houses forming one block of building, excellently situated, and capable of accommodating about forty Boarders.

Four landed proprietors in Birkenhead guaranteed the rent of the College. The late monetary catastrophes have deprived them of the means of meeting such a guarantee; but I am thankful to Him, who alone could sustain one under such an effort, that the College has been able to maintain its ground without one shilling of public assistance.<sup>22</sup>

Baylee claimed the course of instruction was second to none in any place of theological education including the universities and that he was now assisted by four gentlemen with the daily lectures.

There is Divine Service in the College Chapel every morning and evening. The College Lectures are daily, from nine in the morning to one in the afternoon, when the Students dine. Three hours of the afternoon of three days in each week are occupied in Parochial Visiting. The evenings are engaged in preparing for the next day's Lectures. On Sundays and on all the Holy-days, as well as on Wednesday evenings and Friday forenoons, they attend Divine Service at Holy Trinity Church. The College has the advantage of a resident Secretary, whose charge it is to see that the appointed discipline is strictly carried out. I can with the greatest truth say, that there is not one of the whole number of Students whose moral and religious conduct does not give promise of his being a useful Minister of the Church, so soon as he shall have completed his studies.

In the exercise of discipline, it was my unpleasant duty to request the retirement of some Students, who gave painful evidence of unfitness for the sacred profession. Six or seven others left of

their own accord, to pursue a lighter course of study in other places. Some of them gave, as an additional reason, that they would not be required to spend time in Parochial Visiting. I take the liberty of stating this, as reports calculated to injure the College, arose from the retirement of those Students.

I wish it to be publicly known that the Birkenhead College Course is a heavy one, that its other duties are onerous, and that its discipline is strict. It will, I hope, prevent applications from any but those who will give a laborious and prayerful preparation for the work of the Sacred Ministry.<sup>23</sup>

During the first twelve months, he reported, about 41,000 people were visited, some of them as many as eight or nine times! The students' visits had been welcomed even by 'Romanists', and only a 'very small amount of professed infidelity' had been discovered. The clergy making use of the students in their districts paid £5 a year for their services - this money went to pay the stipend of a curate in Baylee's parish. The apparent success of the scheme encouraged him to plan on an even larger scale. He proposed setting up a 'Working Men's Church Association' with subscriptions of one penny a week from a labourer's family and two pence a week from each tradesman's - the money would go to pay for more Parochial Assistants. The association came into being in 1851 and three years later Baylee reported that it was supporting three curates in Liverpool, two new congregations had been formed and two churches were under construction. He also told the meeting that he had had more than one hundred applications for admission to the college from men who could not afford to pay the fees, several of whom appeared to be very desirable candidates. Could not a 'Clerical Aid Fund' be established, he asked, by which such persons would be educated and Liverpool benefit by their labours and piety?<sup>24</sup>



Such then were the origins of the college according to the founder. In his centenary history of the college, F.B. Heiser claimed in a footnote that in 1841 the Bishop of Chester gave his patronage to an earlier effort and that a prospectus was issued in which he was styled the Visitor and a class of theological students was assembled. There is no evidence of this in Baylee's own accounts. It would have been strange to have done it just then for in December 1840 a notable Evangelical, R.P. Buddicom, the Minister of St George's Everton had been appointed by Sumner to be Principal of St Bees Clerical Institution in the diocese of Chester. That college grew in numbers at once. However, when Buddicom died in the summer of 1846 Canon Richard Parkinson of Manchester, a popular High Churchman in that city, was appointed to succeed him. When Buddicom's equally Evangelical Vice-Principal, David Anderson, who had previously been his assistant at Everton left at the end of the year, there arose an urgent need for a training establishment at which Evangelical ordinands could receive a sound theological education. It was exactly this which Baylee planned to provide in his college which opened just a few months later. The timing seems hardly coincidental.

The annual lists of students in the college archives reveal that thirteen men enrolled in 1847 and were subsequently ordained, fifteen of those enrolled in 1848 completed two years study before ordination and a further eight did one year with six more for whom there is no record of their ordination, in 1849 there were seventeen of whom ten were ordained. The numbers were sufficient to encourage plans to be prepared for a purpose-built college. Fund raising committees were formed in Liverpool and London to gain support for the project.



Baylee's work had come to the notice of the Marquis of Blandford and he and two Liverpool businessmen became the trustees of the new college. A college council was also formed consisting of sixteen men in addition to the trustees; these included six members of the nobility, five MPs including the Speaker of the House of Commons, three heads of colleges at Oxford and a number of other notable clergy. What had begun as a private local enterprise run by the Vicar of Holy Trinity Birkenhead became within ten years an academic institution with much wider support and having the Archbishop of Canterbury as its Patron.

Baylee's view of the task of an ordained minister was put succinctly in a letter of thanks he wrote on the occasion of the opening of the new college buildings in 1856 - 'Our sacred calling, Gentlemen, is to win souls to Christ and to train them for heaven.' This was a view shared by Bishop Sumner who had stated in his primary visitation charge: 'I begin, then, by observing, that the object of the Parochial Ministry is, to carry into effect the merciful purpose of God in the dispensation of the Gospel: that wherever an assemblage of men is collected and located together, provision should be made for their souls; that is, provision that they be "brought to God" through Jesus Christ, that they be instructed and maintained in his faith, and thus enabled to render this present life an habitual preparation for eternity.'<sup>25</sup>

Other factors favourable to the success of Baylee's plan were the steadily growing number of new churches being built in the diocese which needed clergy and Sumner's publicly stated concern about the calibre of ordinands:

It is no longer sufficient that a man have shown a decency and

respectability of conduct, against which nothing blamable can be alleged: he must also have the talents and disposition from which much that is laudable may be expected. He must have received such education, and be possessed of such strength of character as may raise him above the level of those over whom he is to rule. He must have such natural and acquired powers, as shall enable him to take the lead among his fellow creatures: to guide the flock, not follow it. I trust therefore that those who may require the assistance of Curates, will not be induced by friendship, or relationship, or neighbourhood, or amiable feelings, to recommend any persons to me for ordination, who do not give promise of essential usefulness.<sup>26</sup>

Sumner's charge of 1841 listed by name 170 additional churches which had been opened since he became Bishop of Chester, one of them being Woodside, Birkenhead to which Baylee had come in 1840, and all of them, of course, requiring ministers. Baylee's intention was to provide a steady flow of clergy with a solid grounding in Christian theology and plenty of pastoral experience. The amount of home visiting and teaching which St Aidan's men carried out was far in excess of that required by any other theological college, and perhaps more important still was the class of people they were required to visit and minister to in their homes. The training was for ministry in urban, working class parishes.

In his first report to the Liverpool Parochial Assistant Association, Baylee mentioned a valuable piece of sociological research carried out by his students in four populous districts of Liverpool. The Liverpool Mercury published on 11 January 1848 an account of this work carried out in the Vauxhall district under the headline 'A Sad Specimen of Life in Liverpool'. (See Vol 2 Appendix 10 B) We know now that this district contained the poorest, most overcrowded and unsanitary dwellings in the port. Just what that first generation of St Aidan's men encountered on



their visits has been graphically recorded in the first and second Reports of the Commissioners for Inquiring into the State of large Towns and Populous Districts published in 1844 and 1845. The 1844 report stigmatised Liverpool as the 'most unhealthy town in England'<sup>27</sup> and Vauxhall was one of the town's most notorious plague spots where 56.75% of the inhabitants were classified as court and cellar dwellers.

Dr Duncan in his evidence to the Poor Law Commissioners in 1842, who were enquiring into the sanitary condition of the labouring population of Great Britain, described the foul conditions endured by these court and cellar dwellers:

In consequence of finding that not less than 63 cases of fever had occurred in one year in Union-court Banastre-street, (containing 12 houses), I visited the court in order to ascertain, if possible, their origin, and I found the whole court inundated with fluid filth which had oozed through the walls from two adjoining ashpits or cesspools, and which had no means of escape in consequence of the court being below the level of the street, and having no drain. The court was owned by two different landlords, one of whom had offered to construct a drain provided the other would join him in the expense; but this offer having been refused, the court had remained for two or three years in the state in which I saw it; and I was informed by one of the inhabitants that the fever was constantly occurring there... From the absence of drains and sewers, there are of course few cellars entirely free from damp; many of those in low situations are literally inundated after a fall of rain. To remedy the evil, the inhabitants frequently make little holes or wells at the foot of the cellar steps or in the floor itself; and notwithstanding these contrivances, it has been necessary in some cases to take the door off its hinges and lay it on the floor supported by bricks, in order to protect the inhabitants from the wet. Nor is this the full extent of the evil; the fluid matter of the court privies sometimes oozes through into the adjoining cellars, rendering them uninhabitable by anyone whose olfactories retain the



slightest sensibility. In one cellar in Lace-street I was told that the filthy water thus collected measured not less than two feet in depth; and in another cellar, a well, four feet deep, into which this stinking fluid was allowed to drain, was discovered below the bed where the family slept!<sup>28</sup>

Such cellars were also used to house schools. The surveyor for the South District of Liverpool in his report to the Health of the Town Committee in 1841 described cellars in his area which were 'used for the purpose of Schools, with from forty to sixty Scholars, several of the Children apparently in the last stage of Consumption, or labouring under disease engendered by their continuance in an impure Atmosphere.'<sup>29</sup> The situation was no better at the northern end of the town; the surveyor for that area in his 1841 report described one black spot as 'a confined court, containing only six small houses with no fewer than 104 Inhabitants, provided with only one small privy and that scarcely fit for use.'<sup>30</sup> All of this inevitably created serious health hazards and the terrible toll of life is reflected in the child mortality statistics. 'In Liverpool in 1841 2,087 out of 14,450 boys died before attaining the age of five. In rural Surrey, an area with a roughly comparable population, 699 out of a total of 14,045 boys met with a similar fate.'<sup>31</sup>

On 1 January 1847, Liverpool set a national precedent by appointing its first Medical Officer of Health. He was Dr W.D. Duncan, a lecturer at the Royal Infirmary School of Medicine, who started a vigorous campaign to rid the town of unsanitary dwellings. Efforts had already been made to enforce more stringent building regulations through a local Improvement Act in 1842 and the 1846 Liverpool Sanitary Act, but the whole situation was suddenly made acutely worse in the winter of

1846 by the arrival in the port of thousands of immigrants fleeing from famine in Ireland. Dr Duncan in his first annual report described the fearful position:

The 1st of January 1847, found this pauper immigration steadily increasing, and it continued in such rapidly progressive rates, that by the end of June not less than 300,000 Irish had landed in Liverpool. Of these it was very moderately estimated that from 60,000 to 80,000 had located themselves amongst us, occupying every nook and cranny of the already overcrowded lodging-houses, and forcing their way into cellars (about 3,000 in number) which had been closed down under the provisions of the Health Act, 1842. In different parts of Liverpool 50 or 60 of these destitute people were found in a house containing three or four small rooms, about 12 feet by 10; and in more than one instance upwards of 40 were found sleeping in a cellar.<sup>32</sup>

Typhus and cholera broke out. In the course of visiting the sick in his district, the Unitarian minister, the Rev John Johns contracted cholera and died. His tenth and final report covered the bitter winter of 1846 and the spring of 1847:

The waves of ordinary suffering swelled at once into billows; and day after day, and week after week, they rolled and rolled upon us, with the same tumult of wild expectancy, till the heart of pity was sick, and the hand of relief was weary. Day after day, and week after week, the same crowds of applicants besieged the door of our office lobby; stairs, landing-place, and even the street outside, were thronged with eager, pallid faces, wearing every shade and variety of expression that misery can produce, or hypocrisy feign. Every tide floated in a new importation of Irish misery, and the snow was loosened from our doors by hordes of bare-footed beggars.<sup>33</sup>

It was during these nightmarish months that Baylee established the Liverpool Parochial Assistant Association, and soon afterwards the first students of the new theological college began their pastoral



visiting among the town's destitute. It is hardly surprising that some of those who came to Birkenhead to train for the ordained ministry found it too demanding, as we have already noted. The pattern of pastoral visiting which he set at the beginning was maintained. In his report to the College Committee on 23 June 1854, much the larger part of the section dealing with the training of the students related to their pastoral work. He reported:

Their practical training consists chiefly of district visiting. In this they are under the direction of the Clergy of the respective districts. They are required to visit nine hours a week during term; and unless they average six hours weekly for the whole term, they are not allowed to go in to the examinations. They individually bring to me every week a report of their visiting, when I have valuable opportunity of speaking to them on any difficult cases, or on any other pastoral or personal matters. They are also encouraged to hold cottage lectures, under suitable regulations, so as to acquire a habit of addressing congregations in simple and earnest language. They are also permitted and encouraged to have prayer meetings in their rooms with their fellow students, in order to the cultivation of personal piety. Under the Divine blessing, the steady operation of this training has resulted in sending forth into the Church men well fitted to exercise the pastoral office. I have now to report the local results of the Collegiate efforts. A very large proportion of the working classes of Liverpool and the neighbourhood have been visited with most encouraging results. The students are cordially welcomed. Many have been induced to attend Church, a great number of children have been sent to school, numbers of sick cases are brought under the notice of the Clergy, and cases of destitution are relieved.<sup>34</sup>

In all of this work, Baylee and his students were putting into practice the kind of parish policy advocated by the Evangelical Church Pastoral Aid Society founded in 1836. The Rev M. Hobart Seymour writing



on behalf of the Society in 1839 had urged the clergy to visit the unchurched masses - 'go into the houses, into the garrets, into the cellars of this vast city, and call upon the people and invite the people - if the people do not come to us for the Gospel, we must go take the Gospel unto them.'<sup>35</sup> The students also assisted in Birkenhead. Baylee proudly told a parish gathering in 1855 that there was not a single street or corner of the parish which had not been visited by them and the students in turn had been enriched by the visits in the homes of working men:

They are unconsciously training him, and opening his heart, and in some measure fitting him to be a good minister of Jesus Christ. When he goes into a parish he will not be like a raw man, altogether without experience. He will know how to superintend a Sunday School, and how to conduct a prayer-meeting; and the best proof of the value and beneficial effect of the experience thus acquired is found in the fact that, without family favour, without episcopal patronage, and without political influence, one fifth of the young men who have already left the college and entered into the ministry of the Church, have been promoted to the care of congregations.<sup>36</sup>

He quoted the example of three students whom he had placed in three districts with a total population of 20,000 - many of them 'not knowing to-day where they shall earn to-morrow's bread'<sup>37</sup> - and he claimed that by the time their two years at the college were up, three new Christian congregations would have been formed.

In a letter to the Archbishops setting out his considered views on theological education in the light of his experience at Birkenhead, Baylee indicated the background of his students and the valuable experience of life they brought with them.

The chief sources from whence students come to St Aidan's College are, - officers in the army or navy, medical men, dissenting

ministers, young men who have served their time in merchants' offices, have deliberately preferred the Christian ministry to any commercial pursuit. Without descending therefore to the uneducated classes, there is a large proportion of the population from whom the ranks of the clergy may be advantageously supplied, and who yet are so circumstanced as to make a purely theological education more desirable for them than a university one. Let us take the case of an officer in the army or navy, a medical practitioner or a gentleman who has served his time creditably in a merchant's office. From sincere piety he desires to devote himself to the ministry of the Gospel. He is naturally anxious to be as soon employed as is consistent with a due preparation. His previous pursuits have been as true an education as a university one. He has acquired a knowledge of the world and of the real wants of society, to which the university student is comparatively a stranger. He has seen its evils, and been in confront with its attractions; he has learned deliberately to prefer a life of dedication to the Gospel of God to any secular pursuit. To such a man a judicious course of theological training, including a fair knowledge of the Hebrew Bible and the Greek Testament, is far more congenial than a course of heathen classics and natural science. He can give himself to it with all his heart.<sup>38</sup>

Baylee felt with some justification that St Aidan's offered the most demanding training in the country. This was a theme he developed in the speech he gave at the dinner celebrating the opening of the new college buildings in 1856:

And if we find that, in a town like Liverpool, there are but one hundred men to take care of 300,000 souls, is it anything but a mockery to pretend that that is a provision? When I first thought about this matter, and questioned with myself how I should act about it, I felt that our great object should be, not only to get men, but to get good men, and I thought the best way of getting good men was to prescribe a course of instruction which would involve an amount of trouble, and a careful, diligent, and persevering study such as only good men would go through. I proclaimed, therefore, that, as far as I



I knew, we had the most difficult theological course in the kingdom. I think I may say so still; and I wish it to be known, in order that none but good, intelligent, and zealous men may come to us - I want men who will work - who will realise fully, and endeavour to set out in their daily lives, the responsibilities of the pastoral office - who will go into the homes of the poor, and labour, as becomes faithful ministers of Christ, to gain their confidence and touch their hearts.<sup>39</sup>

The Marquis of Blandford, a member of the College Council, spoke appreciatively on that same festive occasion of the pastoral training provided by St Aidan's and compared it favourably with the universities:

I will only speak of the vast importance of a college like this to the Church of England. As I have already had occasion to observe, it is not antagonistic to the universities, but is supplementary and ancillary to them. It is not sufficient for those who take upon them the responsibilities of the pastoral office, to be well read in Latin and Greek. It is not sufficient that they be first-class men and able mathematicians. It is not sufficient that they should be versed in patristic theology, or scholastic learning. They must feel in their own hearts and minds the soul-renewing truth of the gospel of Jesus Christ; for, if a man is to proclaim the pardon of God to others, he must feel the pardon of God himself. All our universities can do is to instruct the intellect; they cannot convert the heart. The instruction of the intellect is most important; but it is in the practical application of what we know that the sanctifying influences of the Bible are brought home to the heart. It is in the homes of sickness and distress - amid scenes of suffering and want - that the practical realities of life are brought before us. I believe that the practical training which the students of this college obtain by pastoral visitation in Liverpool, is one of the most valuable features of their collegiate course.<sup>40</sup>

Baylee died on 7 July 1883 at Shepscombe in Gloucestershire where he



had been vicar since 1871. The writer of his obituary in the Liverpool Post was not exaggerating when he wrote: 'To the residents of Liverpool and Birkenhead his name became for a quarter of a century a household word for energy and unflagging activity as the founder and first Principal of St Aidan's College, where he so zealously and faithfully prepared so many students for the work of ministry.'<sup>1</sup>

His choice of Aidan as the patron saint of his college also points to an important characteristic of this remarkable man and to the principles on which he formed his institution. Aidan was a Celt from Iona, a missionary Bishop who walked the hills and valleys of the north taking the Gospel to the common people; he was also the founder of a school on Holy Island whose pupils in turn spread the Gospel all over England. Aidan is rightly called the Apostle of the English. Baylee had started his own ministry at a missionary settlement in the north of Ireland among the poor. He was at heart a missionary and Evangelical teacher with a deep longing to share the good news of Christ's love with those masses of urban poor who were estranged from the Church. His solution was St Aidan's College and the special training it offered.

#### NOTES

- 1 T. Baines      Liverpool in 1859, p.12 In 1840 2,445,708 tons of shipping entered the port of Liverpool as against London's 2,390,544.
- 2 H.K. Aspinall      Birkenhead and its Surroundings, pp.3,7-8
- 3      Stranger's Guide through Birkenhead, p.12

- 4 Bishop's Act Book Chester Diocesan Archives EDA 1/13 p.75
- 5 W.W. Mortimer History of the Hundred of Wirral, p.402
- 6 Stranger's Guide through Birkenhead, pp.iii-iv
- 7 ibid p.55
8. For accounts of the divinity department at Trinity College Dublin, see R.S. Brooke Recollections of the Irish Church pp.8-23 1877, J.W. Stubbs The Book of Trinity College 1581-1891 pp.103-107 1892, and J.E.L. Oulton The Study of Divinity in Trinity College Dublin since the Foundation in *Hermathena* No 58 (1941) pp.3-29
- 9 V.E. Kille 150th Anniversary of the Founding of the Achill Mission 1834-1984, in The Banner of the Truth in Ireland June-September 1985 p.4
- 10 H. Gawthrop Fraser's Guide to Liverpool and Birkenhead, p.247
- 11 Bishop's Act Book EDA 1/13 p.332
- 12 W.W. Mortimer op cit, p.394
- 13 J. Baylee Second Report 1854-55 Annual Educational Soiree, pp.17-20
- 14 J. Johns quoted in M.B. Simey Charitable Effort in Liverpool in the 19th Century, p.37 and in A. Holt A Ministry to the Poor, p.27
- 15 ibid pp.39-40
- 16 A. Holt op cit, p.13
- 17 J. Johns True Church of Jesus quoted in A. Holt op cit, p.25
- 18 J. Baylee Report to the Committee of St Aidan's College 23.6.1854, p.6
- 19 J.B. Sumner Primary Visitation Charge to the Clergy of the Diocese of Chester 1829, pp.18,20
- 20 J.B. Sumner Visitation Charge 1832, p.9
- 21 J. Baylee Speech at the Inauguration of the new college 4.11.1856, pp.15-16 College archives D44/43/11
- 22 J. Baylee First Report to the Liverpool Parochial Assistant Association 13.2.1848, p.21
- 23 ibid p.7
- 24 ibid p.9
- 25 J.B. Sumner Primary Visitation Charge 1829, pp.2-3
- 26 J.B. Sumner Visitation Charge 1832, pp.29-30
- 27 First Report of the Commissioners for Inquiring into the State of large Towns and populous Districts, Vol 1 pp.124-125
- 28 Poor Law Commissioners Report into the sanitary Conditions of the labouring Population of Gt Britain 1842, Evidence of Dr W.H. Duncan, p.31
- 29 J.H. Treble Liverpool Working Class Housing 1801-1851, p.178
- 30 ibid p.204 Report of 20.4.1840
- 31 ibid p.188 Fifth Annual Report of the Registrar General 1843 p.xxiv.
- 32 M.B. Simey op cit, p.41
- 33 ibid p.43 J. Johns Tenth Annual Report,
- 34 J. Baylee Report to the Committee of St Aidan's College 23.6.1854, p.7
- 35 M.H. Seymour The Christian's Duty to the Church in the Present Time, quoted in O.J. Brose Church and Parliament, p.220
- 36 J. Baylee Second Report 1854-55, p.12
- 37 ibid p.14
- 38 J. Baylee Theological Colleges. Their true Use, p.5
- 39 J. Baylee Speech 4.11.1856, p.18
- 40 ibid pp.23-24
- 41 Liverpool Daily Post 11.7.1883.

## ST AUGUSTINE'S MISSIONARY COLLEGE, CANTERBURY

'I must, however, have assistants or the work will be beyond not only my power but beyond the power of any human being. The people are crying out on all sides for clergymen; and the Government have agreed to appoint them, though upon miserably insufficient stipends.' The Rt Rev William Grant Broughton wrote this to his friend Joshua Watson in England just days after landing at Sydney as Australia's first bishop.

Wellington had appointed him Archdeacon of New South Wales in 1828 though he did not arrive in Sydney until September 1829. In the course of five years he visited all the settlements in his jurisdiction. An important achievement was the founding of Parramatta School in 1832 with a St Bees trained man, the Rev Robert Forrest, as its first headmaster. In a charge to his clergy given on 14 February 1834 he spoke of 'extended and populous districts devoid of churches, devoid of clergymen, devoid of schools; the flock of Christ scattered without a shepherd.'<sup>2</sup> He returned to England in 1834 to campaign vigorously to alert the Government and Church to the serious neglect of the spiritual needs of both the free and the convict inhabitants of New South Wales. SPCK and SPG supported him in this as did a number of individuals, among them Joshua Watson and the Rev Edward Coleridge, a tutor at Eton. The Government decided to make the colony a bishopric - previously it had been under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Calcutta! Broughton was consecrated bishop in the chapel of Lambeth Palace on 14 February 1836, Coleridge being one of those present, and he returned to Australia landing there in June. He returned a bishop but with no extra staff; there were still less than twenty Anglican clergy and even fewer



churches in a diocese the size of Europe.

In a letter to Coleridge dated Sydney 26 July 1836, he listed his most pressing needs - the building of additional churches, the provision of a Christian education in schools, and the need -

to obtain the services of more clergymen. The urgency of this measure will appear to you when I state that in this town of Sydney with at least 14,000 Protestants, I have but one clergyman on our establishment: *pro tem* one of the missionaries from New Zealand. Against such a pressure of duty it is impossible for us, few and feeble as we are, to contend with effect, and our cause must accordingly decline, if not perish, unless we can be reinforced. Do you know, or can you find, any men of good education, good sense, and orthodox sentiments, with zeal of mind and strength of body to go through a good deal of duty, who would come out to us?<sup>a</sup>

He wrote at the same time to SPG begging their help to recruit young men. He wrote again on 8 May 1837, having immediate vacancies for nine additional clergy and pleading that the needs of the Australian Church be publicized. 'I make it an object of earnest entreaty that you will, if you can, let these particulars be known at Oxford and Cambridge, and at Durham.'<sup>4</sup> SPG offered to any who responded additional financial incentives in the form of an extra £50 pa to the Government's stipend of £150 and doubling the £150 grant for passage money and outfit provided by the Colonial Office. When the first four new clergy arrived in 1838, Broughton wrote to SPG - 'each of them may, I think, have the effect of adding a year to my life, or of preventing its being shortened by that interval through overwhelming anxiety and distractions.'<sup>5</sup>

In a letter to Coleridge in 1837 he wrote:

I mentioned to the Bishop of London once, my persuasion that there was still wanting, within the Church of England, an Institution for

rearing up Clergymen for the Colonies. He gave me no encouragement to think that such a proposal could be brought to accomplishment, nor indeed could I very readily suggest whence the Funds were to be derived. But is it really impossible to find among the young graduates in the Universities some duly qualified and willing to engage in our service?<sup>6</sup>

The need for educated clergy was felt in other colonies too. After Pinder the Principal of Codrington College returned to England in 1835, that institution went into decline for a number of years. Temple Chevallier at the infant University of Durham wrote to his friend Dr Corrie in Cambridge on 21 November 1835:

We have heard today of a proposal of the Bishop of Barbados to send young men here to educate as missionaries for the West Indies; and to be appointed there in due course to livings. He will give, it seems, £200 a year and a house for the purpose. I do not know whether from his own funds or others: but the plan promises well.<sup>7</sup>

A colleague of Coleridge's at Eton, the Rev George Augustus Selwyn, was consecrated first Bishop of New Zealand in 1841. A friend of his who gave serious consideration to the possibility of accompanying Selwyn was the Rev Charles Marriott who had resigned the Principalship of Chichester and returned to Oxford. En route to his diocese, Selwyn called on Broughton in Sydney to discuss important topics of mutual concern, one of which inevitably was how to procure a supply of trained clergymen. Broughton sent an account of their meeting to Coleridge:

It is this question which above all others has come home to the hearts of both of us... The conclusion at which we arrived was in favour of erecting, under the immediate eye of each, a school of divinity in which promising young men, from eighteen to twenty-three, might be trained in the knowledge of the duties of their profession, as well as initiated into the practical discharge of them. The Bishop of New Zealand has already certain funds and



resources applicable to that object.<sup>8</sup>

Selwyn established such a school at Waimate in 1842, calling it St John's College, which was moved to Auckland two years later. He ordained the first three deacons from the college in September 1843 - six other ordinands were also in training there at that time together with seven 'Collegiate School boys' and eleven 'Native School Boys (Boarding School)'.<sup>9</sup> In due course thanks to the generosity of friends in England, notably Edward Coleridge, Bishop Broughton too was able to establish the nucleus of a divinity school with eight students in a Sydney parsonage in 1846, which he called St James College.

Meanwhile back in England both Marriott and Coleridge were raising money for the Church in Australia and New Zealand, collecting theological books for their colleges and trying to establish an institution where clergy for the colonies could be trained. Coleridge made mention of his 'Missionary College Scheme' in a letter dated 11 November 1842 and claimed support was not lacking:

I now have received about 400 distinct promises of cooperation from some of the noblest as well as wisest and holiest in the land; and I have little doubt that I can raise the necessary money, if the site be decided, and the Archbishop bold enough to allow me to begin the work openly with the new year. The site is, as I always thought it would be, the real difficulty, because the decision must turn in every case on a nice consideration of pros and cons. This more particularly applies to Oxford, to which almost everyone seems to object more or less - not on a Theological ground but from a one-sided view of the dangers, to which such an institution would be exposed by immediate and near vicinity to a great body of students of a somewhat higher grade, and living at a much greater expense... I am now having a design made by Selwyn of a College, on the area once occupied by the Archbishop's Palace, Chapel &c at Southwell. To it as a site the Archbishop is very well disposed, and not unwilling to



exert himself to secure either the freehold or the lease of the property to us from the Church Commission. This I know from his Grace personally. Still I am not inclined to give up Oxford without a struggle - unless it should be thought by a majority of real friends, that a strong push for it at this moment of unnatural excitement and irrational prejudice would seriously endanger or at least defer to a distant and indefinite period the execution of the plan there or even elsewhere. In that case, I think, it would be both foolish and wrong to stand hopelessly for Oxford, especially as the fixing it at Southwell would give it a more complete character from its singleness, and would be the means of creating or at least perpetuating another Ecclesiastical centre in a part of England, where such a rallying point is much needed. Let me know your thoughts and those, if possible, of Newman on this subject, and as fully as may be. Call also Charles Marriott into council.<sup>10</sup>

On 16 December Marriott wrote to Coleridge with his own proposal which sounded not unlike his earlier arrangement at Chichester. He had already seen a house in Oxford which could be had at a moderate rent for six students; the snag was he did not yet have the consent of the authorities there. If his plan was permitted, he intended writing privately to friends in the following terms:

It has been determined, in consequence of communications from some of the Colonial Bishops, to open a house at Oxford for the preparation of Candidates for Holy Orders, who are disposed to begin life on the principle of being content with food and raiment, and serving where they are most needed, and wherever the Bishop under whom they serve may place them. With this view a plan of preparation is offered to those who can be well recommended, and are at the same time willing to live by strict rule, and in a homely manner. They will have to do some things for themselves which are usually done by servants: but nothing of this kind will be expected of them, which is not shared by the person who presides over the House. They will be expected to attend the daily service of the Church, except in case of sickness; and to be regularly present at the devotions and instructions of the

House; and to abstain from every practice that is in the least unsuitable to such an establishment. Each will have a bedroom to himself, but there will be one or more common sitting-rooms, according to the numbers. It is hoped that no one will apply for admission who is not prepared cheerfully to observe the utmost regularity. These terms are not likely to be tempting to many, but it is hoped that those whose views are chiefly in the service of GOD and its rewards, may find here an opportunity of fulfilling their earnest wishes, and the help of likeminded companions.''

He also asked them to inform him of any young men who might wish to take advantage of the plan and whether they needed financial help.

Marriott, however, writing from Eton on 29 January 1843 where he was staying with Coleridge, informed Bishop Selwyn that his own particular plan for preparing some missionaries 'is come to nothing. Not so, I trust the work in general. But I leave that to Coleridge to tell of... Coleridge's plan for educating Missionaries delights me, and I hope it may be helped on at Oxford.'''<sup>2</sup>

During 1843 Coleridge was canvassing support for two separate schemes, the first of which came to nothing but the second led eventually to the founding of St Augustine's. He wrote to a number of headmasters of great schools soliciting their support in the form of encouraging young men to go out to the colonies to be trained and ordained there. A.C. Tait, the Head of Rugby and later to become Archbishop of Canterbury, opposed what was being suggested and stated his reasons why:

First, I doubt much how it will answer to take young men or boys of 17 out to the colonies, with their character necessarily unformed, in the hope that they would ultimately devote their lives to the service of the Ministry in the colonies. At that age it seems to me undesirable that boys should be irrevocably bound to go into orders



at all; and still more undesirable that they should be bound to one particular limited province of ministerial labour...My second objection is this. I fear that a small theological seminary must necessarily give a very confined education during the all important years from 17 to 21. I deprecate above all things that at that age a young man's education should be [ ? ] or chiefly professional. If it be so I think it cannot be liberal. Hence I admire the wisdom of our Oxford system which occupies these years with the Study of "the Arts", and does not wish the student to turn to a professional study of Theology till afterwards. But even the Theological instruction in such a seminary would, I fear, not be of the best kind. At a great University in the Mother Country a theological student will always have the opportunity, if he avails himself of it, of obtaining an enlarged and (if you will allow the phrase) really Catholic theological Education, but I much fear that in a small seminary in a distant colony he would be entirely dependent on the individual teacher, who might be at its head. The same danger which has been apprehended from the proposed foundation of Cathedral theological Seminaries at home, would exist with much greater force in such colonial seminaries abroad... I would willingly labour heart and head to assist some such plan as that which my excellent friend the Provost of Worcester College proposed to the Board of Heads at Oxford, whereby he proposed to establish a College in connexion with the University in which young missionaries might be trained. Such seminaries as you propose I think are good for those who are natives of the colonies, but not for young men to be sent out at 17 or 18 from this country...I think that the plan would be much more likely to succeed if some such institution were founded in England. And I believe that many parents would then be willing to allow their sons to receive education with a view to the Ministry in the Colonies, if they were not obliged to send them out of England to receive it, or forced to commit them irrevocably from the first.<sup>13</sup>

His other scheme, mentioned earlier, was to establish a college in England and preferably at Oxford. Again his proposal did not meet with



uncritical approval from his friends. One of those he approached privately was Bishop Edward Denison of Salisbury who replied on 15 March 1843:

...my first impressions are far from favourable to Oxford as a location. But beyond this, I must confess that I have got doubts as to the expediency of attempting to supply the wants of the Colonies from any establishment for education in this country. I am disposed to think that a supply of Clergy for the Colonies, to be suited to the wants they have to supply, will be best drawn from the Colonies themselves; and that we ought to look upon any other state of things as merely temporary. There is an essential difference between Missionaries, properly so called, and a Colonial Clergy. The former must be looked for and educated at home, and will in the ordinary course of events be men of a different class from men who will engage in the other sphere of labour.<sup>14</sup>

The Bishop of Oxford's support was also solicited and received. Coleridge informed the Bishop on 24 February 1843 that he had had promises of help from more than a hundred heads of schools and asked that a small, preliminary institution be founded under the Bishop's guardianship. Such an institution, it was hoped, would be recognized by the Oxford Heads of Houses and if successful might be raised to the status of a college and become part of the University.<sup>15</sup> The Archbishop of Canterbury wrote to Bishop Bagot on 5 March:

I entirely agree with your Lordship in respect to the desirableness of establishing a place of education for missionaries, and consider it as a fortunate circumstance that the influence and energy of Mr Coleridge should be engaged in promoting the design. The advantages of training the missionaries in this country in preference to the Colonies are in my opinion decisive with respect to health, morals, and efficient teaching. I also prefer one institution to many; but I doubt whether Oxford or its neighbourhood is the best locality.<sup>16</sup>

The Archbishop also wrote in March to a retired colonial bishop about

the proposed new institution. This was Edward Coleridge's cousin, William Hart Coleridge who had been Bishop of Barbados and the Windward Isles from 1824 -1841 and who had been instrumental in turning Codrington College into an institution for training clergy. He expressed 'certain Colonial objections' to the idea of the college being in England but nonetheless offered his services in various ways including 'the more direct and honorary superintendence for a term of the Institution.'<sup>17</sup>

In a letter to Edward Coleridge dated Lambeth 30 June 1843, the Archbishop promised his full support:

I shall be desirous of giving the project all the support in my power, and inducing others who may be influenced by my opinion, to cooperate with me in promoting it. Not knowing of anyone who will engage in the cause with more zeal and ability, I shall be obliged to you to take steps, when the season for moving arrives, to bring the plan to maturity, taking care to avoid whatever may seem to connect it with any party in the Church.<sup>18</sup>

'The season for moving' had not yet arrived in Howley's opinion. The finances of the SPG were in a precarious state and he did not wish the public appeal for funds on behalf of that society to be threatened by another overseas project. The Bishop of London wrote to Coleridge in these terms on 19 July - the society, he said, was 'in imminent danger of bankruptcy.'<sup>19</sup> Joshua Watson had also informed the Archbishop that the National Society was appealing for £50,000 for the Church education of factory children.

On 9 August the Archbishop gave Coleridge permission to send a private circular to his friends describing the proposed college but not yet to ask for subscriptions. In it Coleridge made clear that the



college would be for training young men for the ordained ministry to serve in the colonies and that the project had emanated 'in great measure from the suggestions of the Bishops of Australia and New Zealand and Tasmania. And that it will, if established, be under the immediate management and control of Bishop Coleridge, who has most kindly expressed his readiness to undertake the office of Honorary Principal.' He also indicated the likely curriculum - 'The system of Instruction to be pursued within the College should embrace all the ordinary branches of a University Education, with the addition of what may be considered more specially calculated to promote the usefulness of the students in their future scenes of ministerial labour. I would particularly mention the art of Congregational Singing, the native languages, and the moderate, but as far as it goes, a sound knowledge of medicine and more common operations of Surgery, such as bleeding and Vaccination.' The mention of the Bishop of Tasmania should be explained: Francis Russell Nixon was appointed in 1842 and consecrated the following year. Coleridge had written in December 1842 to his old school friend Edward Pusey expressing concern that the bishop, 'a man in all respects worthy of his high calling', was to be sent out to the colony with 18,000 convicts but without a single chaplain to assist him.<sup>20</sup> Clearly this colony too would need clergy sent from England, though in time Bishop Nixon founded Christ's College for training men already there.

One of those who declined to support him in founding a new college at one of the ancient universities was Dr Whewell, the Master of Trinity College Cambridge. He wrote to Coleridge on 27 August explaining his opposition - the expense of purchasing land and building on it and then



all the salaries which would be needed for the officers of the college would be formidable. 'Why should you not educate such ministers as you speak of at some of the existing colleges?... Why not found Exhibitions or Scholarships for persons who are willing to devote themselves to the colonial ministry?'<sup>21</sup> A resident member of the university, he argued, could be appointed to have oversight of the 'colonial clerical students'. He was strongly opposed to them belonging to a separate and distinctive college where they would associate only with likeminded men. 'One of the great advantages of our education is that by mixing persons of different conditions and destinations it gives them a fellow feeling and a mutual understanding as cultivated Englishmen, and I have been assured, by persons whose authority on such subjects is of the greatest value, that this feature in our education is of especial importance to those who have to act in our colonies.'<sup>22</sup>

Bishop Gilbert of Chichester, formerly Principal of Brasenose College Oxford, promised his support and in his reply to Coleridge recalled an earlier attempt which had been made at Oxford:

A few years ago a similar proposal was made, under the sanction of the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London, for placing such an Institution at Oxford, and, if I remember correctly £30,000 were stated to be ready for commencing this undertaking. The matter was formally proposed to the Board of the Heads of Houses, and advocated, to the best of our ability by the Warden of Wadham, the Rector of Exeter, (I think) myself and others. The proposal came through Dr Cotton, the Provost of Worcester College. A Committee was appointed to draw up regulations for the proposed College for the consideration of the general Board. This was done, but the Board finally refused assent and co-operation. The objections urged were the anomalous character of the proposed Institution; the difficulties of keeping its pupils in their proper position as not being members

of the University; and the probability of injury to the old Institutions if education in the Missionary College was to be a sufficient passport for ordination. The supporters of the plan did not deem these objections of any great force; they weighed, however, with a small majority of the Board so as to stop the project in limine, and prevent it coming before Convocation.<sup>23</sup>

The Bishop of Sodor and Man was another critic of the scheme. He felt that it would be better to send out clerical tutors with the help of SPG to teach in the colonial colleges and so create a local supply of clergy:

If we must send out clergymen to the Colonies, as for some time, at least, I think we must. Select promising boys from Grammar Schools; Assist them in their education in existing Institutions, viz our Universities, King's College London, St Bees, Lampeter, Isle of Man College, or elsewhere. By so doing endeavour to improve existing Establishments, and prepare a race of men whose education has given them English feelings and English friendships. I confess too that I should be afraid, that such an Institution as you describe, would have the tendency of creating, or extending "Ecclesiastical Mannerisms" if you understand what I mean. Our chief danger at present, of saying "That I am of Paul and I am of Apollos etc" is more likely to be increased than remedied by a new Institution.<sup>24</sup>

Coleridge did, however, receive many promises of help in the months that followed. He noted in a letter to Pusey dated 3 April 1844 - 'last week a lady promised me £500 for the cause, and this day's post has brought me an offer of £2,000 from a young man whom I plainly asked to give £5,000.'<sup>25</sup> Another who wrote approvingly of Coleridge's 'noble scheme' was Mr A.J. Beresford Hope. Nothing was definite yet - Marriott wrote to Bishop Selwyn on 7 May 1844 'Coleridge has been making some more attempts at starting the College, of which I do not yet know the result.'<sup>26</sup>

Whilst Coleridge was gathering support, another cry for help came

from Australia in January 1844:

Pangs of the heart I cannot escape, when I look round, and behold the barren wilderness given to me to cultivate; the extent of which and of its wants, and the comparative nothingness of the means at my disposal have been revealed to me more distressingly than ever during my late visitation. You must not, and I am sure, for the love of God, you will not let go your design for the Colonial Institution for Clergymen. It will be the one and only measure by which we can stand.<sup>27</sup>

The major problem was finding a suitable site. A solution appeared in June 1844 thanks to Alexander James Beresford Hope. He had graduated in 1841 from Trinity College Cambridge with a pass degree and a passion for ecclesiastical architecture, or as his biographer put it 'Alexander left Cambridge determined to devote his life to the restoration in the Church of England of divine worship as he understood it conducted in more dignified surroundings than those which prevailed in his youth.'<sup>28</sup> In July 1841 at the age of twenty-one he was elected a Conservative MP for Maidstone; a year later he married the eldest daughter of the Marquis of Salisbury. He had inherited a fortune and used it to support causes close to his heart, among them the restoration of Ely Cathedral begun in 1843 and later on the building of All Saints Margaret Street in London. Another which had been brought to his attention by a letter in the English Churchman in September 1843 was the ruins of St Augustine's Abbey in Canterbury. The abbey had been dissolved in 1538 and eventually became private property; by 1843 it had become a brewery, pot-house and billiard-room. Hope visited the ruins and directed his lawyer to negotiate their purchase. On 13 June 1844 they became his.

When Edward Coleridge heard who had bought the ruins, he saw his



chance and persuaded Hope to give the site for a missionary college, though this had not been the latter's intention. He wrote to Coleridge on 2 December 1844 saying it could be used for this purpose. The two men then approached the Archbishop to gain his approval and support for an appeal to the public. Coleridge wrote to inform his friend Pusey on 27 January 1845:

God be praised for enabling me at last to say, that there is every reasonable chance of St Augustine's College at Canterbury being opened this year for the reception of Students. Alexander Hope has not only given the site, but has undertaken to have so much of the remains immediately restored by Webb and Butterfield, as to empower us to commence actual operations before the first Sunday of 1846  
Χαρις τω Θεω.

The Archbishop meanwhile wishes me privately (though with his sanction) to ascertain promises to the amount of £25,000 before he allows me to make a Public Appeal. I have already £11,000 from 32 persons. Now will you first of all consider what you think it likely you may be able to contribute to the scheme; and secondly, will you send me drawn out fully on paper your views as to the necessary and essential Statutes...<sup>29</sup>

It is clear from the letter that Coleridge was hoping for a community run on monastic lines though he recognized the danger of using such a word to describe it, and he was relieved that the only authority they would have to answer to was the Primate. Later that year Pusey wrote encouraging Coleridge to look out 'some old College rules and some old monastic rules, and so draw up a set of good strict rules.'<sup>30</sup>

A Provisional Committee was set up consisting of Bishop Lonsdale of Lichfield, Bishop Coleridge, Archdeacon Lyall of Maidstone, Dr Jelf of King's College London, the Rev Benjamin Harrison domestic chaplain to the Archbishop of Canterbury and later Archdeacon of Maidstone, Joshua

Watson and Beresford Hope. Edward Coleridge served as Secretary, and the two Treasurers were Mr Justice Patteson and William Cotton. Their first meeting was held on 6 May 1845 to draw up a statement for the public. (See Vol 2 Appendix 11 A) This was published as a single sheet over the signature of the Bishop of Lichfield as Chairman; it stated the facts of the situation - £39,000 had already been promised and work was about to start on 'the principal quadrangle of the College, which includes the Chapel, Hall, Library, and apartments for fifty Students, with the requisite accommodation for the Officers and Servants of the Establishment.' Annual subscriptions and donations were invited. A second edition appeared shortly afterwards, naming seventeen English, Welsh and colonial bishops who supported the scheme and listing the principal subscribers headed by the Queen, the Queen Dowager and Prince Albert. A much longer pamphlet setting out the grounds for establishing such a college had been printed earlier entitled A Proposal for the Establishment of a Missionary College To educate Clergy for the Colonies and Dependencies of Great Britain. (See Vol 2 Appendix 11 B) This document is almost certainly the work of Coleridge written after Hope had donated the site and pre-dates the Committee's leaflet.

A detailed progress report was drafted by the Provisional Committee in December 1845 and subsequently published. By this time £50,000 had been promised, the building work was well advanced and the hope was expressed 'that the buildings will be ready for the reception of Students by the end of August next.' It was announced that Bishop W.H. Coleridge had accepted the Primate's invitation to be the first Warden. The course of instruction would last three years and candidates would not be admitted 'ordinarily, under 18, or above 22 years of age.'

The College was to consist of a Warden, a Sub-Warden, and six Fellows, all of whom were to be actively engaged in tuition. The Committee saw it as being different in one respect to other institutions founded in that century - it was a 'national undertaking', sanctioned and supported by the highest authority and in no sense a party college - 'no arrangements or regulations in regard to it will be allowed to rest on any narrower basis than that of the Church itself.'

The extant correspondence between Harrison written on behalf of the Archbishop, Bishop Coleridge, Beresford Hope and Edward Coleridge during the period 1845-47 shows, however, that there was some tension over the arrangements for the college. Hope wanted a Catholic college not a Protestant one. This is revealed in different ways. Harrison wrote on 25 October 1845 to the Warden about the undesirability of having a piscina and sedilia in the chapel - 'we might be told, perhaps... that the piscina with the sedilia was an anticipation of Romish restoration to come... The Archbishop, I think, would certainly rather have the Chapel free in these respects from what might be made occasion of remark and offence.'<sup>31</sup> In December 1846 Harrison wrote a confidential note to the Warden following a visit made by Lord Charles Thynne to see the building work in progress. He had been amazed when he asked what it was he saw in the south wall of the crypt, somewhat different from the opposite side, that it was a piscina, which having been objected to in the chapel above, was to be introduced therefore into the crypt below! The crypt, he was informed, when he asked its purpose, was for the burial place of Wardens &c. Of course, we shall hear ere long that the piscina is the accompaniment to an altar where Mass is to be said for the repose of their souls.<sup>32</sup>

In March 1846 Hope was in correspondence with the Warden about the



Communion plate and the matter was referred to Howley. Harrison wrote to Bishop Coleridge, 'The Archbishop entirely agrees with you in opinion respecting the Jewelling of the Communion Plate. In particular, he would think it undesirable that any occasion should be given of objection or suspicion by anything "unusual" (as Your Lordship has put it to Mr Hope) in this respect, and would also think there was something out of keeping in peculiarly splendid Communion Plate in the Chapel of a College like ours.'<sup>33</sup>

In June 1847 Judge Sir John Coleridge intervened in some correspondence which had passed between Hope and the Dean of Canterbury about the Statutes of the college to try and reassure the Dean:

I am very desirous that you should know what it is, which makes Hope anxious, and in so doing, I may perhaps remove some vague fears about him - some [jealousies ?], which obstruct the final arrangements so described. It would be idle to conceal, that when he first proposed to give his land to the infant scheme of a Missionary College, and took the lead in advancement of it, so remarkable for its munificence and disinterestedness, he hoped for an institution framed on the old models - in which mere instruction was to be carried high, but in subordination to religious training as its paramount principle. He never did, however, nor does he now desire anything, unstructured by the Liturgy of the Church - he had not, and he has not any Romanish cravings - he has been content to recede from some points - which he thought unimportant - and he desires now nothing which the Provisional Committee has not conceded, with the sanction of the Archbishop... it is obvious on a candid consideration that the more he is regarded as a man of extreme view, the less reasonable is it to suppose that he would ever have intended to do what he has done and proposes to do for an institution framed on Low-principles, or on those of undue connection to the Low Church party... The consequences even of delay are very serious - but those of a final disagreement are such as I cannot bear to contemplate. Everyone concerned ought to

do his best to prevent them, and I am sure you will.<sup>34</sup>

What Hope wanted was a college sharing a common life and with the power of self-government though answerable to the Archbishop as Visitor, and with a royal charter. In all this he was eventually successful.

In November Hope took exception to the appointment of a Matron and Edward Coleridge intervened on his behalf with the Warden. 'I have received a note from A.B.H. expressing so strongly his repugnance to the appointment of a Matron, that I really do hope you will not press your wish on that point to his annoyance. I do not sympathize with him in all his fears and objections; but I can understand his entertaining both; and am very anxious that, as he has yielded so much with grace, he should not be threatened in this, if possible. Can not the appointment be deferred until found to be necessary or highly desirable?'<sup>35</sup> In a letter to Bishop Coleridge, dated 10 November, Hope proposed a compromise namely that one of the Fellowships should be filled by a layman 'who need not of necessity be an University man, but of course should be a Gentleman by position, and should have a good business education especially in accounts who should undertake the duties of Steward (and probably if thought advisable, of Bursar also).'<sup>36</sup>

It had been agreed as early as December 1845 that the staff would consist of a Warden, a Sub-Warden and six Fellows to be appointed by the two Archbishops and the Bishop of London. In October 1846 the Warden met at the Archbishop's request the Rev George Charles Pearson MA of Christ Church Oxford and his wife, and wrote to the Primate indicating his approval of him as a possible Sub-Warden. But it was not until 31 March 1847 that Howley formally notified the Warden that Pearson had been offered the post and that he had also offered a

Fellowship to a Mr Huntingford, a candidate for the Sub-Warden's post recommended by Dr Ogilvie. Bishop Coleridge had sent a list of potential Fellows to the Archbishop in October 1846 but some of them Howley perceived 'may be considered as objectionable - though perhaps not in themselves - on account of their connections with persons who hold extreme opinions, - the appointment of whom would add to the cry which will probably be raised against the College at its first starting, and which may for a time deprive it of more general support.'<sup>37</sup> Hope wanted his old Cambridge friend, the Rev Benjamin Webb a founder member in 1839 with J.M. Neale of the Camden Society and co-editor with Hope of The Ecclesiologist, to have a Fellowship. He wrote to him - 'St Augustine's should be your home, why dream of curacies?... It will be the very place for you, and consider the medieval influences among which you will live and the opportunities which you will have of following ecclesiological and ritual studies to so much more advantage than if engaged in parochial duties, and daily choral service in choir and weekly Communion which are purposed.'<sup>38</sup> Webb declined the Fellowship and none of the other early names suggested joined the staff. The first three to sign the 'Members Declaration Book' on 27 January 1849 were Bishop William Hart Coleridge DD as Warden, the Rev George Charles Pearson MA as Sub-Warden and the Rev Allen Page Moon BA of Trinity College Cambridge as Fellow. Pearson came from parochial work as Vicar of Thanington and returned to it after just three years, his place as Sub-Warden being then taken by Moon.

Archbishop Howley died on 11 February 1848 a day short of his eighty-third birthday. His place was taken by the Evangelical Bishop of



Chester, John Bird Sumner, who had had St Bees Clerical Institution and the infant St Aidan's Theological College in his diocese. On 12 April, provoked by a letter from the new Archbishop, Edward Coleridge went to London to consult with Hope and Judge Patteson and all three agreed to go down next day and 'storm Lambeth'. This they did with entire success in Coleridge's opinion who wrote an account of it to the Warden that same day. The Archbishop had agreed to consecrate and open the college on St Peter's Day, to appoint three more Fellows out of the list which the Warden had sent the late Primate, to entrust the legal examination, revision and decision of the Statutes to Judge Patteson and to accept Hope's solicitor as his lawyer.<sup>39</sup> They had also been to see the Bishop of London who promised to cooperate and to be present at the consecration. Coleridge's victory was not as complete as he thought for Sumner did not appoint the three Fellows and a few days after their meeting he was insisting on the college having a council, something Hope strongly opposed.

The Gentleman's Magazine devoted three pages in its August edition to an account of the two services at Canterbury on 29 June and to a description of the buildings. A service of consecration had first taken place in the college chapel which could only accommodate 130 people, but this was followed by a great service in the cathedral at 12 noon - 'a vast concourse of ladies and gentlemen; there could not have been less than 600 clergymen among them, nearly all dressed in their academic robes... At the close of the service Mr Hope received nearly 1200 persons at luncheon in the college...' <sup>40</sup> The writer estimated that Hope had spent between £30,000 and £40,000 on the college; this was an exaggeration for the total building cost excluding the chapel was only

£30,733 but he was certainly the largest single benefactor, having given the site, a donation of £3,000, and paid the entire cost of the chapel and its fittings - a further £4,544.

Among the many distinguished guests present at the opening were some who had experience of founding colleges elsewhere or of teaching in them - Archdeacon Manning, the Dean of Chichester, Charles Marriott, Archdeacon Thorp, Dr Jelf, R.C. Trench, Bishop Wilberforce who was already planning a college at Cuddesdon and Dr Vaughan the Headmaster of Harrow who would later train many ordinands at Doncaster.

The apartments for fifty students were ready but as yet there were no occupants. The Gentleman's Magazine reported that the first students were expected 'in about two months or less' and the first six started on 28 November 1848. Nine others had been in correspondence about joining the college but did not materialise. The six spent just a fortnight together 'for a sort of general examination, for starting the Sunday and the daily Chapel Services, and for giving to each one in College a little practical insight into the respective future duties of his office.'<sup>4</sup> They were not formally admitted, however, until the following year. The Warden entered their names in the Matriculation Book which they signed and he witnessed on 17 February 1849 'The above six Candidates for admission into the College having completed the Preliminaries required by the Statutes, have been admitted as Students.' The Warden admitted a further seven students at four different times in the year. He died suddenly at his home at Salston, Ottery St Mary in Devon on 21 December 1849 where he had gone for the Christmas vacation.

The Rev Henry Bailey BD, Fellow and Hebrew Lecturer of St John's

College Cambridge was appointed as his successor. Bailey was an enthusiastic supporter of SPG and had started a local supporting association during his curacy at Hingham in Norfolk. In September 1841 whilst still a Deacon he had been asked to accompany Bishop Alexander to Jerusalem as his Chaplain but he did not accept as he was intending to stand for a fellowship at St John's. He also declined the Wardenship of St Columba's College in Ireland and the Principalship of Bishop's College Calcutta.<sup>42</sup> The offer came to him from Ernest Hawkins, the Secretary of SPG, who wrote on 26 January 1850. The salary was intended to be £500 p.a. but as yet it still fell short of £400 though there was a good house, well-furnished and free of taxes. Hawkins wrote 'Besides competent classical and theological attainments, the position requires, I think, a heart interested in missionary objects, and talent for government, and for guiding and moulding the students. The life would be a quiet and regular one, more really collegiate than that followed at the Universities,' but one of eminent usefulness.'<sup>43</sup> He was then invited to meet Bishop Blomfield in London on 4 February who offered him the Wardenship and he was formally admitted by the Archbishop on 20 February when he duly signed the Members Declaration Book. He did not move into college until Easter Eve and celebrated and preached in the chapel for the first time on Easter Day.

In March Bailey admitted four students, two more in October and two in December; in all there were twenty one students by the end of the second year. Sixteen of these were eventually ordained to service abroad, three to Newfoundland, two to Nova Scotia, Newcastle and Barbados, and one each to Adelaide, Capetown, Fredericton, Guiana, Quebec, Sydney and Toronto. At the end of his first year Bailey



published the first College Calendar which gave a substantial reading list but also showed that the curriculum was still not yet fixed. It included a list of all the Exhibitions which had already been endowed to help finance the training of poor students - £2,000 bequest by Mrs Sheppard, the sister of Dr Routh the President of Magdalene College Oxford to endow six Exhibitions, £2,000 from SPCK to endow three more at £21 each p.a., one Eton Exhibition of £50 a year funded by the Assistant Masters of Eton College, four studentships of £35 each for those who had been educated at schools in the county of Leicester, a Bishop Coleridge Scholarship of £20 in memory of the first Principal, and two Scholarships for students willing to serve in Australia funded by an old school friend of Bishop Broughton, the Rev Henry Hutchesson, who gave £1,000. In December 1852 the students themselves printed and published the second College Calendar which now included the details of the three year course of studies. (See Vol 2 Appendix 11 C)

Alexander Hope wrote to Bailey on 21 February 1850 to congratulate him on his appointment and in this letter set out the history of his own involvement in its foundation:

I am sure I need not tell you of the deep interest I feel in the work. My part in it has in some respect been a peculiar and individual one. Interested as I have always been - since I first heard of it - in Edward Coleridge's noble scheme of a Missionary College. I did not buy St Augustine's site without a single intention to forward that - or even with any openly intention to help it. I bought it as a site especially hallowed in the old days of our English Church - to consecrate it - to devote it to the use of the English Church again. The Missionary College was one of the alternative schemes which strongly presented itself to me.

But above all things, my dream was to see it again the locus of a model religious corporation of some sort. A little thought satisfied

me that a college was the thing most suited to these times, - and I felt satisfied also that E. Coleridge's Missionary Scheme was the best criteria to work out this model College with. Henceforward of course the two schemes became united - but in the arrangements I always kept the collegiate idea strongly in view. Stipulating from the first that it have its own distinct corporate character, with its own chapel etc - and not be dependent upon the Cathedral for its services. I had to fight rather a battle with the late Reverend Archbishop to have its staff one of "Warden and Fellows" and not as he at first conceived of "Principal and Professors" and all this beside the immediate practical benefit one looked to as accruing to the colonies and to heathendom from the future College. I looked to mediate home benefits to our own Universities in holding up to them the experience of a College, on the old principles - unimpaired by modern elevations and corruptions - exhibiting the example to them of higher - more self-denying, living - than unhappily they as a rule hold forth in these times...<sup>44</sup>

It was an ideal that Bailey was happy to aim for in his management of the college during the half century he was at its head.

#### NOTES

- 1 F.T. Whittington William Grant Broughton, p.88
- 2 B. Harrison ed Sermons on the Church of England by the Rt Rev W.G.Broughton with a prefatory Memoir. p,xv
- 3 F.T. Whittington op cit, pp.90-91
- 4 ibid p.124
- 5 C.F. Pascoe Two Hundred Years of the S.P.G. p.393

- 6 H. Bailey Twenty-five Years at St Augustine's College, p.12
- 7 Chevallier MSS 9 T. Chevallier to Dr Corrie 21 Nov 1835
- 8 F.T. Whittington op cit, pp.125-126
- 9 H.W. Tucker Memoir of the Life and Episcopate of G.A. Selwyn, Vol 1 p.150
- 10 E. Coleridge MSS Pusey House E. Coleridge to E.B. Pusey 11 Nov 1842
- 11 Ollard Papers Pusey House C. Marriott to E. Coleridge 16 Dec 1842
- 12 ibid C. Marriott to Bp of New Zealand 29 Jan 1843
- 13 St Augustine's College Archives A.C. Tait to E. Coleridge 9 July 1843
- 14 ibid Bp E. Denison to E. Coleridge 15 March 1843
- 15 H. Bailey op cit, p.19
- 16 R.J.E. Boggis St Augustine's College, Canterbury, p.40
- 17 St A.C.Archives Book 4 f.4 Bp W.H. Coleridge to ? 8 May 1843
- 18 ibid Book 1 f.14 Archbp W. Howley to E. Coleridge 30 June 1843
- 19 ibid Book 1 f.16 Bp of London to E. Coleridge 19 July 1843
- 20 E. Coleridge MSS PH E. Coleridge to E.B. Pusey undated but Nov/Dec 1842
- 21 S. Douglas The Life and Selections from the Correspondence of W. Whewell, pp.297-299
- 22 ibid p.299
- 23 St A.C.Archives Book 1 f.21 Bp of Chichester to E. Coleridge 19 Aug 1843
- 24 ibid Book 1 f.45 Bp of Sodor and Man to E. Coleridge 16 Sept 1843
- 25 E. Coleridge MSS PH f.11 3 April 1844
- 26 Ollard Papers PH C. Marriott to Bp of New Zealand 7 May 1844
- 27 H. Bailey op cit, pp.29-30
- 28 H.W. Law + I. Shaw The Book of the Beresford Hopes, p.131
- 29 E. Coleridge MSS PH E. Coleridge to E.B. Pusey 27 Jan 1845
- 30 ibid E.B. Pusey to E. Coleridge 17 Nov [1845]
- 31 St A.C.Archives Book 4 f.5 B. Harrison to Bp Coleridge 25 Oct 1845
- 32 ibid Book 4 f.19 B. Harrison to Bp Coleridge 18 Dec 1846
- 33 ibid Book 4 f.13 B. Harrison to Bp Coleridge 24 March 1846
- 34 ibid Sir J.T. Coleridge to Dean of Canterbury 28 June 1847
- 35 ibid Book 4 f.30 E. Coleridge to Bp Coleridge Nov 1847
- 36 ibid Book 4 f.31 A.B. Hope to bp Coleridge 10 Nov 1847
- 37 ibid Book 4 f.16 Archbp of Canterbury to Bp Coleridge 26 Oct 1846
- 38 H.W. Law op cit, p.159
- 39 ibid Book 4 f.37 E. Coleridge to Bp Coleridge 13 April 1848
- 40 Gentleman's Magazine Aug 1848 p.195 The Illustrated London News also published a detailed, illustrated account of the college on 29 June 1848,
- 41 H. Bailey op cit, p.65
- 42 E.R. Orger The Life of Henry Bailey DD, p.14
- 43 ibid p.16
- 44 St A.C.Archives A.B. Hope to H. Bailey 21 Feb 1850



## THE QUEEN'S COLLEGE, BIRMINGHAM

Mr William Sands Cox, a Birmingham surgeon, began 'a course of Anatomical Demonstrations with Surgical and Physiological Observations' on 1 December 1825 which was the first systematic instruction of medical students in that city.' With the support of physicians and surgeons at the General Hospital, a School of Medicine was formerly opened on 28 October 1828 and specially erected premises were opened in the following year. Royal patronage was given to it by William IV in 1836 and it now became the Royal School of Medicine and Surgery of Birmingham.

At a special meeting of the Governors of the School held on 11 November 1837 the Rev Vaughan Thomas a pluralist incumbent with parishes in Oxfordshire, Warwickshire and Gloucestershire, was elected unanimously a Trustee. Thomas was to be an important figure in the development of the medical school into a multi-disciplinary college as he acted as the agent of the man who became the institution's most generous benefactor - the Rev Dr Samuel Wilson Warneford.

Warneford was the Rector of Lydiard Millicent and Bourton-on-the-Hill and a very wealthy philanthropist. It is reckoned he gave away £200,000 in his lifetime, much of it to medical enterprises - the first of these was the Warneford Lunatic Asylum near Oxford 'for the charitable care and cure of the afflicted of the middle and upper classes of society labouring under poverty.'<sup>2</sup> He also helped finance the creation of a hospital at Leamington. On 11 November 1839 an appeal for funds was launched to build a new teaching hospital in Birmingham and it was done in the form of an open letter to the Chancellor of the diocese of

Lichfield and Vicar of Harborne, the Rev James Thomas Law who was actively associated with the school. Warneford contributed £2,000 towards the purchase of the land and the building of the hospital whose foundation stone was laid on 16 June 1840. Queen Victoria had given permission for it to be known as the Queen's Hospital, Birmingham. This was the first of many generous benefactions made by Warneford who was concerned about the training of doctors as Vaughan Thomas explained in a memoir of him. 'It had long been his painful conviction, that medical and surgical students had been so exclusively confined in their studies to professional science, that whilst they were known to discuss freely among themselves theories of organization, and often to fall into the worst errors of materialism, nothing had been done by a proper course of education to counteract these mischiefs, and direct their attention to the internal and external evidences of revealed truth. This seemed to be a forgotten duty; and their lamentable state of ignorance as to the Gospel and the means of salvation, were the natural consequences of such neglect.'<sup>3</sup>

The medical school became the Queen's College on 17 July 1843 and the foundation stone of the new buildings was laid on 18 August 1843. The Bishop of Worcester consecrated the chapel on 15 November 1844, towards the cost of which Warneford had donated £500. 'The constitution provided for departments of Medicine and Surgery, of Architecture, Civil Engineering, Law, Theology and, in a junior department, of General Literature and Arts.'<sup>4</sup> Thomas recorded that Warneford was actively involved in this development:

Upon the petition of Dr Warneford, and at his sole expense, Her Majesty was graciously pleased to confer upon the College a new style and title, raising it to the higher rank of dignity, and increasing

its efficiency and usefulness, by incorporation, and afterwards by a second or supplemental charter... he also extended and enlarged the circumference of his purposes of good; for he was now seen to embrace within the purview of his munificence the wants of the Church, and the growing necessity of sending more labourers into her vineyards, and of preparing another class of students for the duties of the ministry, and by such a course of study and residence, as would be at once complete and economical, adequate for every pastoral purpose, but without any severity of pressure upon parental funds.<sup>5</sup>

In the Charter of 1843, Warneford was named as Visitor to the College, Dr Johnstone as Principal, Chancellor Law as Vice-Principal and Sands Cox as Dean of the Faculty.

Warneford gave £1,000 on 16 October 1844 on condition that £40 p.a. should be secured to an officer called the Warden who should act as Chaplain to the Medical Department. On 14 April 1845, by a further gift of £1,000, he created a perpetual annuity of £40 p.a. for the use of the Warden 'to deliver a course of Lectures on Morals and Theology, open to all students gratuitously.' Chancellor Law fulfilled this role of Warden initially as this letter of Sands Cox to Thomas, dated the Queen's College 18 May 1847, indicates:

...Our Junior Department is going on well. I have now eight students articulated to me without premium. Mr Chancellor Law has been with us more or less during the whole of the term, and has preached two Sermons almost every Sunday in our College Chapel.<sup>6</sup>

There were 53 students during that academic year - 40 registered as attending Medical Classes and 13 in the junior department.<sup>7</sup> Whilst Cox was having new buildings erected in Paradise Street, Law was buying up the leases of existing houses nearby in The Crescent.

In 1846 a royal warrant was granted to the College to issue certificates to the students whereby they could be admitted as



candidates for the degrees of BA, MA, LLB, and LLD at London University; this was in addition to an earlier right in respect of medical degrees. A Supplementary Charter was granted in 1847 which constituted the Principal and Council one body politic and corporate. On the death of Warneford, the Bishop of the diocese was to become the Visitor; the Principal was to be a nobleman and a member of the Established Church and the Vice-Principal was to be a dignitary of the Church in or near Birmingham; the Dean, the Treasurer and all classical, mathematical and medical tutors also had to be Anglicans. In that same year Sands Cox put the idea of a divinity department to Warneford. In a letter dated 13 September 1847 he drew his attention to an item in the newspapers about the Divinity Department at King's London and the willingness of the bishops to admit as candidates for Orders those with the College's Divinity Testimonial 'without reference to the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge.' Cox then made his proposal:

Have we not the machinery, with additional outlay, for a similar course of instruction? We have a consecrated Chapel. We have an endowed Theological Professor. The Hospital affords opportunities for visiting the sick. Have we not an examining body in our Council? the Vice-Principal, the Dean of Worcester, the Archdeacon of Coventry, the Rev Vaughan Thomas, the Rector of St Philip's, the Rector of St Martin's. Have we not a vast and increasing population and an insufficient supply of clergy?"

Warneford replied on 17 September asking Cox to write to Vaughan Thomas for his 'deliberate opinion'. He was clearly taken with the idea of Queen's becoming more like King's in its regulations and privileges. In November he gave his support for the addition of a 'Clerical Department, making an integral part of Queen's College.'"

In October 1848 Thomas wrote to Cox with the offer of a further munificent endowment from Warneford. Cox replied - 'Mr Chancellor Law entirely concurs with the views and wishes expressed by Dr Warneford and yourself. When the letter was delivered, he was sitting with me, and had only ten minutes before expressed a hope that some time or other our generous friend might be induced to endow a Professorship of Theology in our newly created department of Arts.' At a meeting of the College Council on 24 October 1848 Thomas informed them of Warneford's proposals to fund a department to train men for the ordained ministry. (See Vol 2 Appendix 12 A)

A sub-committee was set up to execute Warneford's wishes. As the college already possessed suitable buildings for the theological department, a good theological library and endowments for a chaplain and professor of pastoral theology, it seemed success was assured. But it was in fact a long time in coming. Law wrote to Thomas on 7 October 1850 in reply to a query from him:

In order to open a Theological Department with effect, it appears to me that we should have a Professor of Pastoral Theology with a salary of £200 a year, prepared to devote himself entirely to Divinity teaching; and we should have at the Head of the Establishment a permanent Warden, with a salary of about £320 a year. Towards which objects Dr Warneford has munificently given £3,000 (£120 a year) as an endowment for the Professor of Pastoral Theology; and £2,000 (£80 a year) to the Warden as Chaplain, and for a Divinity Lecture.

Further, the Theological Students should, I think, be entirely separated from the Medical Students, living altogether by themselves in the quiet of the Crescent, under the same roof with the Warden. And the expense of such a Collegiate Establishment as they would want must be very considerable.

It is proposed that the Students should pay £75 each p.a. for all College expenses. And your enlarged experience in College matters

will enable you to form an accurate judgement of the domestic management required to make such a sum as £75 sufficient for furnished rooms, servants, board, books, and fires etc.

From the statement, you will perceive that we are, alas! far off the point of safety and permanence towards which I fondly look.

As far as our own machinery is concerned, we are prepared, God willing, to open the Theological Department almost at a day's notice; and five Students, I am informed, have already applied to the Warden. Our system of Divinity instruction we propose to make as comprehensive as possible, keeping in view what is doing at King's College, London, and at Oxford, Cambridge, Wells and Chichester. But, in some respects, we propose to do even more than we have heard of being done elsewhere. We propose for the Theological Student a seven year course. Taking him at 16 years of age into our Junior Department for two years; then for three years into our Arts Department; then for two years into our Theological Department, his time and thoughts to be then and there devoted solely to Theology. the last two years to be spent under the roof of the Warden, and all seven years under his watchful care.

Also we propose to take any Students who have attained to a Bachelor of Arts Degree in any recognized University into our Theological Department at once."

In October 1849, Horace Faithfull Gray, Vicar of Pilton and Prebendary of Wells where he had been a diocesan inspector of schools, was appointed Warden. In his inaugural address to the students he spoke of the plans to train clergy as well as doctors at the college:

The great need of additional clergymen in such localities as this in which we are assembled, and the indispensable necessity that all who are admitted to that sacred function shall be duly instructed and prepared for their holy office, are points which are universally admitted. The necessity has been met in some measure by the admission as candidates for Holy Orders of the associates of King's College, London, bringing with them the requisite certificates. This precedent we propose to follow, in the confident hope that we may be enabled,



through God's blessing, by a steady maintenance of sound theological teaching, to secure a similar degree of support and countenance from the bishops of our Church.'<sup>12</sup>

In the 1850 College Annual Report, Gray drew the attention of the bench of bishops to the proposed Theological Department and invited 'such pecuniary aid as may enable them soon to open this department.' A four-page prospectus of the Theological Department was printed which included the titles of the ten men (seven of them clergy) who made up the 'Committee of Council' headed by the diocesan bishop. By the end of 1850 (and the end of the period under review) this new theological institution for training men for the ministry existed on paper but not in reality.

The theological department was effectively established by the Second Supplemental Charter dated 31 December 1851 which stated that the Warden and Professor of Pastoral Theology were to be priests and graduates of Oxbridge. (See Vol 2 Appendix 12 B) Warneford seems to have wanted Queen's to become the university of the Midlands and modelled on King's London. He wrote to Cox on 29 July 1852 - 'I should particularly wish that the Warden of Queen's College Birmingham, should occupy on the death of Mr Chancellor Law and yourself, the same position as Dr Jelf, at King's College London - to be the resident head of all the departments... The especial intention of my endowment is, to secure hereafter the services, by a handsome income, of an accomplished clergyman, who, in addition to the duties specified in the trust deeds, shall give the benefit of a presiding mind over every department of the College, and that his watchful care is not limited to any department.'<sup>13</sup>

In January 1852 the Bishop of Chichester wrote to Vaughan Thomas - 'You are doubtless aware that a memorial has lately been addressed to the Archbishops and Bishops requesting us to accept the Certificate of the Warden and Professor of Pastoral Theology of Queen's College Birmingham as a satisfactory completion of the appointed course of Theological study in that College as a qualification for admission to our Examinations for Holy Orders.'<sup>14</sup> He then went on to ask who appointed the professor and who prescribed the course of reading. In reply, Thomas sent him a copy of the new prospectus.

When the department seemed ready to open, the Warden Prebendary Gray was called back into residence at his parish in Gloucestershire by his bishop! It did eventually open early in January 1853 at Nos 5 and 6 The Crescent under John Sandford, the Archdeacon of Coventry and Examining Chaplain to the Bishop of Worcester. Soon afterwards the Rev T.E. Espin MA, Fellow and late Tutor of Lincoln College Oxford, became the Professor of Pastoral Theology. The 1853 College Calendar published full details of the department as it was envisaged. (See Vol 2 Appendix 12 C)

When the troubles between Cox and his colleagues came to a head in the 1860s Chancellor Law had a collection of papers published under the title Materials for a brief history of the advance and decline of the Queen's College, Birmingham. Part V relates to the theological department and gives Law's view of the events:

When Dr Warneford intimated his intention of founding a Theological Department, Mr Law was most anxious that it should be entirely separate from any other in the College. In this desire Dr Warneford participated, as will appear by a reference to the correspondence which follows. Also Mr Law refers to the second Supplemental Charter

which contains the following passage: "And we do further will and declare that the committee of council of the Theological department shall have the entire management, superintendence and control over the affairs of the said Department of Theology, and over the discipline of the Students belonging thereto, anything in the previous Charter and Supplemental Charter notwithstanding."

When the College became involved in difficulties, Mr Sands Cox proposed to extricate it from those difficulties by the violent removal of the Theological Students into Paradise street. He took the opinion of Sir Hugh Cairns, on the legality of this step, and intimated his intention of withholding the income of Dr Warneford's gifts from the parties who claimed them, as long as that Department remained in the Crescent. Mr Law, on the other hand, took the opinion of the Attorney-General. These great lawyers "Mr Martin remarks" as is not unusual, differed. The Attorney-General, however, seemed the most decided in his opinion. And that opinion was acted upon. So for a time the Theological Department was saved.<sup>15</sup>

#### NOTES

- 1 E.W. Vincent + P. Hinton The University of Birmingham, p.40
- 2 V. Thomas Christian Philanthropy Exemplified, p.14
- 3 ibid p.5
- 4 E.W. Vincent + P. Hinton op cit, p.50
- 5 V. Thomas op cit, pp.7-8
- 6 MS Top Warw d.1 Bodleian Library Papers relating to Queen's College 1838-52 f.15
- 7 Calendar of QCB 1848 p.26
- 8 W. Sands Cox ed Reprint of the Charter; Supplemental Charters; the Warneford Trust Deeds... with Appendices, p.246
- 9 ibid p.248
- 10 MS Top Warw d.1 ff.17-18
- 11 ibid ff.20-23
- 12 W. Sands Cox ed Annals of the Queen's College Birmingham, Vol 2 p.132
- 13 W. Sands Cox ed Reprint of the Charters...p.348
- 14 MS Top Warw d.1 ff.51-52
- 15 J.T. Law Materials for a brief history of the advance and decline of the Queen's College Birmingham, Part V



## CONCLUSION

The Church's ministry must be felt to be no shelter for ignorance, no sinecure for indolence and self-indulgence, no mere passport to gentility, no profitable professional investment, no "refuge for the destitute"; but a work, sacred, awful, laborious, calling for high attainments, true devotedness, single aims - to be sought, not for its emoluments and preferments, but for its means of usefulness. Our object should be to introduce into our ministry men of earnest minds and simple habits; to supply them not merely with counsel for their inexperience, and teaching for their ignorance, but examples which may gain their love and kindle their imitation. They must be familiarized with not only the *ἐξηγησις* but the *ἄσκησις*; that is, not merely the theory, but the practice of religion. And this surely is a plea for planting your department in a place like this - amidst the sights and sounds of teeming, busy, suffering human life - rather than amidst the scenes and associations of our Universities, or even under the shadow of our venerable and cloistered cathedrals. For in this as in all else, we have Him for our example whose vigils were spent in seclusion, but whose work was amongst the sons of men - in the night on the mount, but in the day in the city. And our mission to man, as we find him in this hard-working and sin-vexed world; and if in scenes like this the Church of a former age was wanting, is it not here that we are to make reparation?'

John Sandford, the Archdeacon of Coventry and Examining Chaplain to the Bishop of Worcester, was addressing the students at the start of a new academic year in October 1852 at the Queen's College in Birmingham. Here he contrasted attitudes to the ordained ministry in the Established Church as they had been at the beginning of the century and as held by many at the end of our period. A remarkable change had taken place in Church life for many reasons - the reforms of the 1830s and 1840s; a renewed awareness of apostolic ministry; bishops more careful

in their examination of candidates for Holy Orders and in their oversight of the parochial ministry - to mention just three. One of the most significant reasons which was already beginning to bear fruit and would do so increasingly later in the century was the much greater emphasis placed on theological education and ministerial training. And already as witnessed at St Aidan's and hoped for by Dr Warneford at Queen's Birmingham, there was a real concern to prepare men for ministry among the urban poor, and some small attempt was being made at helping candidates from really poor backgrounds to be trained.

Though much was written in the early Victorian period about drawing extra candidates for the ranks of the clergy from the poorer social classes, little was actually achieved - see the failure of Woollcombe, Marriott and others at Oxford to help 'poor scholars'. St Bees, CMS Islington and St Aidan all admitted some students from the proletariat but the socially exclusive pattern of recruitment to the Anglican ordained ministry was hardly shaken by this. At the end of the period under review the percentage of non-graduate ordinands was still only 15.7. The average newly ordained deacon was still a graduate of Oxford or Cambridge and likely to have come from a clerical family. In 1850 St Bees, the oldest and largest of the 19th century foundations, admitted 65 students to its two year course of training followed by a further 66 in 1851 (the largest number in any year of the college's existence) - by comparison Oxford and Cambridge provided 900 graduates as ordinands in the same two year period of whom, however, less than a hundred had done the extra year's theological training at Durham, Chichester or Wells.

	Oxford	Cambridge	Durham	Dublin	Non-Graduates	Total
1850	211	252	21	50	88	622
1851	215	222	23	41	113	614

(from T.E. Espin Church Congress Report 1869 p.63)

We have traced through the first half of the nineteenth century the unprecedented growth in the number of places of higher education where a man could be prepared for the ordained ministry of the Church of England. This was just part of the wider religious educational scene for a similar growth had taken place in the number of Non-Conformist theological colleges, so much so that they outnumbered the Anglican ones. The need for Non-conformist clergy had similarly grown to serve the many new chapels built in that half-century. In some parts of the country this growth was phenomenal - in the diocese of St David's there were in 1801 469 Anglican churches and 229 Non-conformist chapels to serve a population of 237,629, by 1851 there 489 Anglican places of worship (+20) and 892 Non-conformist (+663) for an increased population of 415,884.

We have seen what diverse factors brought the Anglican institutions into being -

the urgent needs of the huge and populous diocese of Chester;

a similar need for an indigenous, Welsh-speaking clergy in South Wales;

the concern of Evangelicals to take the Gospel to Africa and India, and of High Churchmen to provide ordained ministers for the colonies;

critical reaction to what was deemed a godless institution in London;

the fear of the Durham Cathedral Chapter and the Bishop that the Whig reformers would rob them of their wealth;



the missionary zeal of an individual Irish clergyman and his compassion for the slum-dwellers of Liverpool;

the admission by bishops, dons and young graduates that an Oxbridge degree alone did not equip them to be effective parish priests;

and other more general factors such as the absence of higher educational facilities in the north and the existence of a large body of "literate" who could not afford Oxbridge.

The educational entrepreneurs were mostly bishops and clergy - Bishop Law of Chester acting possibly on the suggestion of the Rev William Wilson at St Bees in 1816; Bishop Burgess of St David's urged on by Archdeacon Thomas Beynon and other Welsh clergy; the CMS Clerical Secretaries Josiah Pratt and Edward Bickersteth; Dr George D'Oyly, Bishop Blomfield and Dr Jelf in London; Bishop Van Mildert and Prebendary Charles Thorp at Durham; Bishop Otter, Dean Chandler and the Rev H.E. Manning at Chichester; Chancellor Law and Archdeacon Brymer at Wells; the Rev Joseph Baylee at Birkenhead; the Rev Edward Coleridge in particular at Canterbury; and Dr Warneford and Chancellor Law in Birmingham. The laity made their major contribution in the form of finance. Without this support there would have been no money for salaries or college buildings in some places. The Earl of Lonsdale provided buildings and the living of St Bees, J.S. Harford at Lampeter and F.H. Dickinson at Wells, Alexander Beresford-Hope at Canterbury, and a host of benefactors, both clerical and lay, at King's London, Islington, Lampeter and Canterbury.

Although a start had been made to the reform of ecclesiastical property and finances, notably through the creation of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners of England and Wales in 1836, no great advance was

recorded in church government. The Convocations of Canterbury and York were silent throughout this period. Real power in the dioceses still lay in the hands of the bishops and in the parishes with the patrons and incumbents. Synodical government as experienced today was unknown. The Bishop of Exeter summoned representatives of the clergy in his diocese for consultation in 1851 following the Gorham judgement but even his use of the term 'synod' was challenged in the House of Commons. Episcopal entrepreneurs such as George Henry Law at Chester or Thomas Burgess at St David's could happily formulate plans and create new educational establishments (unlike their modern counterparts) without first having to gain the approval of their diocesan board of finance and diocesan synod or have their college's proposed curriculum validated by a committee of the Advisory Council for the Church's Ministry and then later have to submit to regular ACCM inspections! They had the freedom to act as long as the finance was assured. Bishop Law's son, the Chancellor of Lichfield, who had played an important part in the creation of Wells Diocesan Theological College and the Queen's College Birmingham, saw finance as the major consideration and the one which inhibited other bishops from taking similar initiatives.<sup>2</sup>

The initial financial outlay varied enormously - Bishop Law and the Earl together paid only some £3,000 to make available college lecture rooms, a library and a new vicarage at St Bees - over £100,000 was raised for the first buildings at King's. Likewise the time it took from the conception of the idea to admitting the first students - at Wells this took a few months, at Lampeter twenty-three years! In many cases insufficient attention was paid to securing the long-term financial stability of the new institution - Islington, Lampeter,

Durham and Chichester all experienced serious problems in their early years. Because the living of St Bees was never augmented and the incumbent/principal depended increasingly on the fees of students, this led in the 1890s to the sudden closure of what had been the largest and most successful of all the theological colleges. Baylee at Birkenhead recognized the need for a college council if his college was to enjoy purpose-built accommodation; Dr Parkinson at St Bees refused to be answerable to such a body and thereby weakened the college's long-term survival.

In most cases the founders had in mind an ideal for the training to be offered in their particular establishment. Principal Ainger and Bishop Law described their vision of the ministerial commission and character in an ordination sermon and charge respectively in 1816 and 1817; Bishop Burgess wanted evangelists and pastors who could turn the Methodist tide in his diocese; at King's London Bishop Blomfield wanted 'the shrine of science and literature' to be set up 'within the sanctuary'; Wells was created around John Pinder whose ideal was the man of prayer who was also theologically literate and pastorally experienced; Baylee shared a similar vision at St Aidan's; CMS Islington and St Augustine's were founded to train men for specialist forms of ministry overseas.

To make the ideal a reality required able and experienced teachers. These were not always in evidence. The inescapable explanation for Chichester's feeble and hesitant start was the appointment of Charles Marriott as its first principal; he was quite simply uncertain about what he was meant to be doing there. Charles Thorp had a vision of how to save the chapter's revenues but was so autocratic and proprietorial



a university warden that after a most promising start Durham declined. Lampeter had a succession of brilliant vice-principals but the financial maladministration of Lewellin, the first principal, had by 1850 endangered the college's survival. William Ainger was a popular teacher at St Bees but failed to take advantage of the pastoral opportunities provided in the parish; his Evangelical successor, R.P. Buddicom, did better and the college grew significantly. Bishop Van Mildert, appreciating the need for outstanding teachers if his infant university was to flourish, panicked when H.J. Rose left at the end of the first academic year. Archdeacon Brymer recognized in Pinder an ideal candidate for running a college and not surprisingly Wells was a success. Jelf too at King's picked three eminent teachers for his theological department.

With the single exception of CMS Islington with its declared aim of being a family rather than a collegiate establishment, all the new institutions were modelled more or less on Oxbridge. This was almost inevitable as all the first principals and tutors were themselves educated at one of the two ancient universities. The Oxbridge influence was to be seen in the ethos which prevailed, in the rules and regulations of the new colleges and in their theological curriculum which was admittedly much more extensive. This usually included the Evidences of Religion, the Greek text of the N.T. (and for some, O.T. Hebrew), the XXXIX Articles, the Book of Common Prayer (with special attention being given to the Ordinal), and Ecclesiastical History (which might include a study of the Early Fathers). There were some notable additions to the earlier Oxbridge curriculum, e.g. the conduct of worship, elocution, the art of preaching, pastoral practice such as

sick and bereavement visiting and running cottage meetings, and the experience of the National Schools system.

The college rules reflected a greater attention to a man's moral character; offences which had been overlooked by the Oxbridge authorities now became the grounds for expulsion in the new theological colleges. Testimonials given after one, two or three years residence had to be genuinely earned. There was also concern for the development of a more priestly character. Manning in a charge in 1846 spoke of this: 'Is it not manifest that what is needed for Holy Orders is not only the learning of a scholar, but a mature and exact knowledge of sacred truth? And yet the intellectual training is the least momentous part in preparing for Holy Orders. What is required is not only a professional course of lectures, but a collegiate life of spiritual discipline - an order of devotion wherein to subjugate ourselves and to unite our whole will with the great laws and realities of our Master's Cross and Kingdom... In an institution for training clergy all the sanctions and associations must be ecclesiastical; every object should be emblematic not of the academy but of the altar; not of scholars but of apostles.'

Though only a minority of ordinands received the new style of ministerial training with its threefold emphasis on theological knowledge, instruction (and some experience) in pastoral work and as a leader of worship, and on the development of personal piety and a disciplined character, the impression is given by mid-century commentators that standards had risen generally throughout the body of clergy. Bishop Selwyn on his return from New Zealand in 1854 after 13 years away from England commented publicly on the great improvement he had discerned in

the parochial clergy.<sup>4</sup>

Observations on the changes which had taken place also came from another source. In November 1852 Commissioners were appointed to inquire into 'the State and Condition of the Cathedral and Collegiate Churches in England and Wales', and their first report was presented to Parliament two years later. The Heads of Houses and Divinity Professors at Oxbridge were asked whether the theological lectures given in the University might be considered as supplying all that was needed for the preparation of candidates for Holy Orders, or whether it would be desirable to institute theological colleges in connection with some of the cathedrals. Their answers were predictably defensive! Their arguments against such institutions fell broadly into three categories - no cathedral chapter would be able to supply so large a body of accomplished theological teachers as the university, the danger of 'party spirit' in the colleges, and the value of clergy and laity being educated together. Dr Macbride, Principal of Magdalen Hall Oxford, touched on all three in a single sentence, 'It appears to me that no principal of a theological college, however talented and diligent, could in so many departments compete with our six professors, and even granting that he could teach in all, as well, or sufficiently, I think any advantage of such a local institution would be too dearly purchased by its exclusiveness, for I conceive it to be of the first importance that the clergy should not be trained to be a distinct class in society, but should as much as possible be educated together with the gentry and youth designed for the other liberal professions.'<sup>5</sup> The judgement of the Commissioners, however, given in their Final Report in 1855 was 'That it would be advantageous to religion and learning if, in



each of the two provinces, a certain number of theological seminaries were formed or restored.'<sup>6</sup>

The Commissioners further recommended, 'In selecting places for such institutions, we suggest that regard should be had to statutable provisions, and also to existing means and appliances in the cathedral or collegiate body; e.g. number of canons - theological lectureships - library, hall, and other buildings for the reception of students - sufficient population in the cathedral city, that the students might be profitably trained and exercised in parochial and pastoral work, under the direction of the clergy of the city, in visiting the sick, teaching in the schools, &c.'<sup>7</sup> It is clear that the Commissioners had taken note of the experience of the colleges established since 1800 and did not wish to see their mistakes repeated.

For a final assesment of the changes which took place between 1800 and 1850 we can listen again to Archdeacon John Sandford, the Rector of Alvechurch. He was himself a product of the old system having graduated at Balliol with First Class Honours in 1824. On this occasion he was preaching at Cuddesdon on the anniversary of the theological college for the diocese of Oxford. The sermon was entitled appropriately Clerical Training. Here he is recollecting his own days at university:

We were unable, at the close of our residence, and on the eve of our public examination, to do justice to the lectures of learned divines, when our minds were absorbed with secular science, or with the history, philosophy, and poetry of the old pagan world. And as to any insight into pastoral duties, any acquaintance with parochial details, any conception of the difficulties, the conflicts, and the tasks which constitute the life of a clergyman, we were entirely without this. And thus raw, and inexperienced, knowing little of the

theory and nothing of the practice of clerical life, we were launched on a mission in which the trials and perplexities have since so often wrung from us, as from the God-called and God-taught apostle, "Who is sufficient for these things?" Out of the class-schools on Friday, examined for holy orders that day week; ordained by letters dimissory the next Lord's Day; and then entrusted with the entire cure of seven thousand souls!... Such is the history - and that not a solitary one - of a clerical noviciate.<sup>a</sup>

In answer to those critics who alleged that the new theological colleges were indoctrinating men with exclusive views and separating them from the laity, he said:

Such has not been my experience either as an examining chaplain or as an archdeacon. On the contrary, I have found the students of our theological colleges both better instructed than the majority of other candidates in the nature of the duties before them, and when admitted to holy orders, earnest, exemplary, and modest in their pastoral work. And I cannot understand the principle upon which danger is anticipated to the English Church from the better instruction of its future clergy in its own doctrines and services!<sup>b</sup>

#### NOTES

- 1 J. Sandford An Address delivered at the Anniversary Meeting of the Queen's College, Birmingham on Monday Oct 4, 1852, in Annals of the Queen's College Birmingham, ed W. Sands Cox Vol 2 p.154
- 2 J.H. Law A few words respectfully addressed to the Bishops on the Preparation of Candidates for Holy Orders, p.9
- 3 H.E. Manning A Charge delivered at the Ordinary Visitation of the Archdeaconry of of Chichester 1846, pp.42-43
- 4 G.H. Curteis Bishop Selwyn, A Sketch of his Life and Work, p.146
- 5 First Report of HM Commissioners appointed Nov 10, 1852 to Inquire into the State and Condition of the Cathedral and Collegiate Churches in England and Wales, Appendix p.824
- 6 Final Report of HM Commissioners appointed Nov 10, 1852 to Inquire into the State and Condition of the Cathedral and Collegiate Churches in England and Wales, p.xix
- 7 *ibid*
- 8 J. Sandford Clerical Training, A Sermon, pp.14-15
- 9 *ibid* p.16

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- 6 ibid
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1885 M. Pattison       *Memoirs.*  
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- 1974 V.H.H. Green *A History of Oxford University.*
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## ST BEES CLERICAL INSTITUTION

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- |      |                 |                                                                                                                                                                                        |
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| 1728 | S. Peploe       | <i>A Charge at a Primary Visitation.</i>                                                                                                                                               |
| 1747 | S. Peploe       | <i>A Charge to the Clergy of the Diocese of Chester.</i>                                                                                                                               |
| 1779 | B. Porteus      | <i>A Charge at a Primary Visitation.</i>                                                                                                                                               |
| 1781 | B. Porteus      | <i>Directions relating to Orders, Institutions, Licenses.</i>                                                                                                                          |
| 1782 | Anon            | <i>Free and Apposite Observations on the one very evident and indecent Cause of the present rapid Decline of the Clerical Credit and Character. A letter to the Bishop of Chester.</i> |
| 1791 | W. Cleaver      | <i>A List of Books intended for the Use of the younger Clergy and other Students in Divinity within the Diocese of Chester.</i>                                                        |
| 1799 | W. Cleaver      | <i>A Charge to the Clergy of the Diocese of Chester.</i>                                                                                                                               |
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| 1811 | R. Hodgson      | <i>The Life of Beilby Porteus.</i>                                                                                                                                                     |
| 1814 | G.H. Law        | <i>A Charge at a Primary Visitation. Chester</i>                                                                                                                                       |
| 1817 | G.H. Law        | <i>A Charge at a Tri-ennial Visitation. Chester</i>                                                                                                                                    |
| 1817 | W. Ainger       | <i>A Sermon preached in the Cathedral Church of Chester at a General Ordination on December 22 1816. Whitehaven</i>                                                                    |
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| 1825 | C.J. Blomfield  | <i>A Charge at a Primary Visitation.</i>                                                                                                                                               |
| 1831 | H. Raikes       | <i>Remarks on Clerical Education.</i>                                                                                                                                                  |
| 1851 | St Bees College | <i>Calendar.</i>                                                                                                                                                                       |
| 1857 | G.E. Biber      | <i>Bishop Blomfield and his Times.</i>                                                                                                                                                 |
| 1863 | A. Blomfield    | <i>A Memoir of C.J. Blomfield. Vol 1</i>                                                                                                                                               |
| 1891 | F.S. Raines     | <i>Lives of the Fellows and Chaplains of the College of Manchester. Chetham Society Remains Vol 22</i>                                                                                 |
| 1895 | R.H. Morris     | <i>Chester Diocesan History.</i>                                                                                                                                                       |
| 1923 | J.H. Davies ed  | <i>The Life and Opinions of Robert Roberts. Cardiff</i>                                                                                                                                |
| 1948 | C.M.L. Bouch    | <i>Prelates and People of the Lake Counties. Kendal</i>                                                                                                                                |
| 1953 | M. Ellis        | <i>St Bees Theological College: some Welsh Connections. Transactions of the C+WAAS 1111 (1953) pp. 190-201</i>                                                                         |
| 1966 | R.B. Walker     | <i>Religious Changes in Cheshire 1750-1850. Journal of Ecclesiastical History Vol 17 Cambridge</i>                                                                                     |
| 1972 | J. Addy         | <i>Two Eighteenth Century Bishops of Chester and their Diocese. Unpublished MA thesis Leeds University</i>                                                                             |
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- 1822 J. Scott *The Life of the Rev Thomas Scott.*  
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| 1848 |                   | <i>CMS Jubilee Tracts 1-10.</i>                                                                                                                                 |
| 1849 |                   | <i>The Jubilee Volume of CMS.</i>                                                                                                                               |
| 1851 | T. R. Birks       | <i>Memoir of the Rev Edward Bickersteth.</i>                                                                                                                    |
| 1880 | J. Venn + H. Venn | <i>The Missionary Secretariat of Henry Venn BD.</i>                                                                                                             |
| 1880 | W. Knight         | <i>Memoir of the Rev Henry Venn.</i>                                                                                                                            |
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| 1974 | F. S. Piggin      | <i>The Social Background, Motivation and Training of British Protestant Missionaries to India 1799-1858.</i><br>Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, King's College London |
| 1979 | M. Hennell        | <i>Sons of the Prophets.</i>                                                                                                                                    |

## ST DAVID'S COLLEGE, LAMPETER

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- |      |                       |                                                                                                                                                |
|------|-----------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1802 | G. Lipscomb           | <i>Journey into South Wales.</i>                                                                                                               |
| 1804 | J. Evans              | <i>Letters written during a Tour through South Wales.</i>                                                                                      |
| 1804 | B. H. Malkin          | <i>The Scenery, Antiquities and Biography of South Wales.</i>                                                                                  |
| 1805 | T. Jones              | <i>History of the County of Brecknock. Vol 1,</i><br>1809 Vol 2                                                                                |
| 1810 | S. Meyrick            | <i>History and Antiquities of the County of Cardigan.</i>                                                                                      |
| 1811 | R. Fenton             | <i>An Historical Tour through Pembrokeshire.</i>                                                                                               |
| 1811 | N. Carlisle           | <i>A Topographical Dictionary of the Dominion of Wales.</i>                                                                                    |
| 1815 | T. Rees               | <i>South Wales, Topographical etc.</i>                                                                                                         |
| 1818 | N. Carlisle           | <i>Endowed Grammar Schools in England and Wales.</i>                                                                                           |
| 1833 | S. Lewis              | <i>A Topographical Dictionary of Wales.</i>                                                                                                    |
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### Welsh Church History

- |      |              |                                                                                                                                                                                              |
|------|--------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1721 | E. Saunders  | <i>A View of the State of Religion in South Wales.</i>                                                                                                                                       |
| 1768 | J. Jones     | <i>Considerations on the Illegality of preferring to Welsh Benefices Clergymen ignorant of the Welsh Language. 2nd edition.</i>                                                              |
| 1819 | Anon         | <i>The Church in Wales. True Assertions and a Serious Warning.</i>                                                                                                                           |
| 1831 | A. J. Johnes | <i>An Essay on the Causes which have produced Dissent from the Established Church in the Principality of Wales.</i>                                                                          |
| 1841 | A. J. Johnes | <i>Statistical Illustrations of the Claims of the Welsh Dioceses to Augmentation out of the Funds at the Disposal of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, in a Letter to Lord John Russell.</i> |

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- 1852-55 *Report of the Proceedings of the Association of Welsh Clergy in the West Riding of Yorkshire.*
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